

BOOKS
Relating to the

MISCELLANEOUS DISCOURSES

Relating to the
TRADITIONS and USAGES
OF THE

Scribes and Pharisees

In our REDEEMED SAVIOUR

JESUS CHRIST'S TIME

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Relating to the
TRADITIONS and USAGES
OF THE
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IN OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR
JESUS CHRIST'S TIME.
IN TWO VOLUMES.

The first, Containing,

- I. A Discourse of the Nature, Authority and Usefulness of the *Misna*.
- II. Table and Contents of all the Titles of the *Misna*.
- III. A Discourse of the Recital of the *Shema*, *Phylacteries*, and *Schedules of Gates and Door-Posts*.
- IV. Texts relating to the religious Observation of one Day in seven. With Annotations.

The second, Containing,

Shabbath. A Title of the *Misna* concerning the *Sabbath*.
Eruvin. A Title of the *Misna*, concerning the Mixtures practised by the *Jews* in *Jesus Christ's* Time, to strengthen the Observation of the *Sabbath*. In *Hebrew* and *English*. With Annotations.

By W. WOTTON, D. D.

L O N D O N :

Printed by W. Bowyer, for TIM. GOODWIN at the *Queen's* Head against *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleetstreet*. 1718.

MISCELLANEOUS
DISCOLLERS

TRADITIONS IN USAGES

OF THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE

IN THE

WESTERN WORLD

AND

THE

INDIAN NATIONS

OF THE

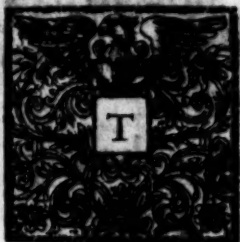
WESTERN HEMISPHERE

BY



TO THE
Most Reverend Father in God,
WILLIAM,
LORD ARCHBISHOP
OF
CANTERBURY,
*Primate of all England, and
Metropolitan, and one of the
Lords of His Majesty's most
Honourable Privy Council.*

May it please Your Grace,



O pardon the Presumption
of this Address. For tho'
the Argument may possibly
not be thought in it self
too mean, yet I have the
utmost Reason to fear that my unskilful
and imperfect way of handling it may

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render it every way unworthy of so great a Patronage.

The *Doctrines* of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, which our blessed Lord justly condemns as the *Doctrines of Men*, are the chiefest subjects of these Discourses. They lay concealed for many Ages in Languages little study'd and less known; and very few learned Men among us Christians (comparatively speaking) have busied themselves about them, and what they did was chiefly published in a learned Language. Now since what is little known, will for that Reason be but little valued, I have adventured to enquire into the *Nature* and *Authority* of these famous *Constitutions*, and to publish a Specimen of them in our own Tongue, that Men of Curiosity and Search might without much trouble know how to pass a right Judgment upon them themselves.

When I had finished what I had to say with all the Diligence and Care that I was able to use, I was, I confess, very desirous they might appear in the World to the best Advantage. If Your
Grace

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Grace shall condescend to look into these Papers, and if upon a transient View, (and I dare not hope for any more) they shall be judged to be in any measure worthy of a favourable Censure, I shall rejoice at the choice of my Argument, and I am sure to have the concurring Voice of the Public to bear me Witness that I have not mispent my Time.

It is not, my Lord, so much the high Station to which every honest Member of the Church of *England* blesses God to see Your Grace nominated by his Majesty to succeed our late truly venerable Metropolitan, that will prepossess Mankind, and induce them to think kindly of what Your Grace does not disapprove; as a thorough Persuasion that all good and learned Men among us have that You will not shew the least Indulgence to a Work that is intended to be useful, unless it does in some measure answer its Intent. For surely as many things concur to make whatsoever Your Grace shall say or do appear amiable to the best and valuablest part of the Nation,

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tion, as ever concurred in any of Your Grace's Predecessors.

It is now something above thirty Years since Your Grace entred upon Your ministerial Office in *London*, upon Your return from the Court of *Versailles*, where the Station You were in gave Your Grace very particular opportunity of knowing what *Popery* was when truly *represented*, and what this Nation might justly look for, if it should ever be settled among us. Most *Mens Hearts failed them then for Fear*, and *for Expectation of the Evil to come*. And yet when some of our greatest Teachers were silenced, and the rest to the last degree discountenanced: When one of our worthiest Prelates (whose great Quality, and the extraordinary Merits of his noble Family, several of whom had laid down their Lives in the Cause of the Crown, might have justly pleaded for a very different Treatment) was suspended by an incompetent Authority, because he would not suspend one of the most considerable Presbyters of his Diocese without hearing of

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his Cause, when his only Crime was doing his Duty in instructing his Flock: When a Predecessor of Your Grace's, and six of his Suffragans were imprison'd and forced to submit to an ignominious Trial for appearing in Defence of our religious and civil Liberties: When both our Universities were brow-beaten, and one of the noblest Colleges in *England* robbed of its principal Members, because they would not consent to have a profest Papist brought in to be their Governor, or their own statutable Election of a President set aside: Then did Your Grace with equal Intrepidity and Skill defend the Cause of the Church of *England*, and therein the Cause of the Church of *Christ*; and with the Zeal of a primitive Confessor teach us how, according to the way which our bitterest Adversaries called *Heresy*, we ought to worship the God of our Fathers.

Afterwards, when by the good Providence of God, we enjoy'd unexpected Ease, and our Fears of Popery were in some measure removed, an Occasion offered it self wherein Your Grace was cal-

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led in to promote the Church's Interest in a different Way. Disputes arose among us concerning the Nature and Extent of the Privileges of an *English* Synod. And to those Disputes we owe the most perfect Performance relating to the Ecclesiastical History of *England* (as far as its Councils and Convocations were concerned) that had ever seen the Light. From which we may justly hope, if God shall preserve Your Grace's Life, that under Your Patronage, and by Your Direction, we may at last see an entire and authentic Body of the Ecclesiastical History of our Church.

I could say a great deal more upon these Subjects if I durst. The Happiness which the greatest Diocese in *England* enjoy'd for so many Years whilst Your Grace was Bishop of *Lincoln* would have made their Loss the more sensibly felt, if the Church's Interest, in which theirs is included, had not moderated their Grief; especially when they had the Satisfaction to see Your Grace succeeded by so excellent a Prelate.

That

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That Your Grace may enjoy many, very many Years of Health and Tranquillity, to continue (as You have so long been) a Blessing to the Church of *England*, and an Encourager of useful Learning, is the unfeigned Wish and Prayer of every Man that wishes well to both. I am sure it can be so of no Man more, than of him who is with the truest Duty and Gratitude,

May it please Your Grace,

Your Grace's most dutiful,

Most obliged

And most obedient Servant,

W. WOTTON.

PREFACE.



PREFACE.



It is now something above four years since a very ingenious Gentleman, whose Curiosity had led him to make Enquiries into things not immediately relating to his own Profession, (which is the Law of England) had a long Discourse with me concerning the Reasons of Christians not observing that Sabbath which is enjoined by the fourth Commandment. He had been (as he told me) long perplexed with many Difficulties about the Observation of the LORD'S DAY, which he was neither able to solve himself, nor could receive any Satisfaction from those Divines to whom he had told them. He saw that the Catholick Church unanimously agreed in denying the Obligation of the *Mosaic Sabbath*; and yet with us, when the Decalogue is read in the Communion Service, which is the most solemn Office in our Church, and which is regularly repeated every Sunday and every Holiday, and wherein the *Mosaic Sabbath* is expressly commanded to be remembered, the People are directed to beg of God to *have Mercy upon them, and to incline their Hearts to keep that Law*, as much as any

any of the other nine, tho' that Law is now no where observed in the Christian World. For all Christians keep the *first Day of the Week* holy; whereas the *Jews* were commanded to sanctify the *seventh*. And there is no Precept to be found in the whole New Testament by which we can directly and in express Words warrant that Substitution, tho' he owned he believed that the Churches of Christ, the most primitive as well as the most modern, would not so unanimously have consented to this Substitution, if they had not had sufficient Authority, and very cogent Reasons to engage them so to do.

He told me then, that whilst he was labouring to satisfy himself about the Obligation of this important Duty, a learned Divine, who is a common Friend of ours, put Mr. Smith's Tract concerning the *Patriarchal Sabbath* into his Hands. That Gentleman printed it first in 1683, without setting his Name to it, only setting the initial Letters of his Name *J. S.* at the End of his Preface. Afterwards he reprinted the Title Page, and added a Dedication to Queen Mary of blessed Memory, to which he subscribed his Name at length. In this little Book Mr. Smith endeavours to prove, that the fourth Commandment, as we have it in *Exod. xx.* required the Observation of that Day which we now call *Sunday*, which had been kept holy by the ancient Patriarchs from *Adam* downwards; and that the *Jewish Sabbath*, in which the seventh Day of the Week, which answers to our *Saturday*, was commanded to be sanctify'd, was not prescribed by *Moses* before his Recapitulation of the former Laws in *Deut. v.* tho' it was afterwards strictly observed by that Nation to the Time of *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles: And consequently that the first Christians only restored the true old Sabbath, which was particularly enjoin'd in *Exod. xx.* and was written by the Finger of God, with the rest of the

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Décalogue upon those Tables of Stone which he gave to *Moses* upon the *Mount*.

The Novelty of this Gentleman's Argument induced me to read his Book with great Greediness; but it gave me no more Satisfaction than I expected it would. His Subject necessarily led him to enquire into the Opinions of the *Jews* upon that Question; and yet I found him so little acquainted with the Writers of that Nation, whom he frequently treats with a Contempt, that nothing less than a thorough Knowledge of their Writings and Opinions could in any measure justify, that he fancy'd the *Jews* fasted upon the Sabbath Day, leading thereon (as he indecently enough expresses it) a *Dog's Life of Hunger and Ease*. And yet *Moses* could have taught him otherwise; and all the *Jewish* Ritualists who believe the oral Law, do unanimously aver that the *Sons of the Covenant* are bound to eat their Meals upon that Day.

However, having promised my Friend to give him my Thoughts at large upon this Subject, I resolv'd, as soon as I had leisure, to set about it. The best way which I could think of to set this whole Matter in a clear Light, was to set down all the Texts that any way related to the Worship of one Day in seven at length, which we have in the Old and New Testaments, under Chronological Heads, and then to make proper Observations upon them. Thus the Nature of the *Jewish* Sabbath would fully appear, and the Obligation the Nation lay under to keep it holy, would be manifestly seen: Thereby also the Validity, and indeed Necessity of the Substitution of another Day to be kept holy by Christians, would be at the same time fully proved. And this was all which I at first propos'd to do.

But tho' this was sufficient (as I judged) to clear my Friend's Scruples, yet since these things had been so sharply and so copiously debated by very many Writers in the last Age, when some who had un-
 swares introduced a sort of Semi-Judaism among us, inveighed with the utmost Bitterness against their Ad-
 versaries, (many of whom were much more learned than themselves) who strenuously asserted their Chri-
 stian Liberty in this Particular, I was willing to em-
 brace that Opportunity to enlarge my Enquiries, and thereby to make what I had to say more diverting (as I hoped) as well as more instructive to the curious Reader. I determin'd therefore to examine into the
Traditions of the Elders, and to see how the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* in our blessed Saviour's Time command-
 ed the *Sabbath* to be observed, and to set down all their Traditions (as I had done the *Sabbatical Years* before) at full length. The Variety and Nicety of their Constitutions surprized me, as they will I be-
 lieve most Men who are unacquainted with these Matters. Accordingly I translated them into *Eng-
 lish*, and by the help of the *Jewish* Commentators I explained them as well as I was able. I resolved also to add the Original along with my Translation, both to vindicate my own Fidelity, and to entertain those, who tho' they are well acquainted with the Text of the *Hebrew* Bible, yet may not possibly be so conversant in the Text of the *Misna*.

When I had gone thus far I found my self under an indispensable necessity of going farther. The whole Body of the *Talmudic* Laws has been treated by many learned Men with so great Contempt, that many of those who have busy'd themselves in those Studies, have thought it necessary to apologize for so doing. This has been partly occasion'd by the extravagant Commendations which the *Rabbins* have given to the whole *Talmud*, as now we have it; and partly by Christians not distinguishing between the *Misna* which

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is the Text, and the *Gemara's* which are *readings* upon it. And therefore as I had confined my self entirely to the *Misna* in my Enquiries concerning the Traditions of the *Jews* about the *Observation of the Sabbath*, so I resolved professedly to examine its Authority, and when I had stated the Question, and given my Judgment upon it at large, I knew it would not be difficult to determine what weight ought to be laid upon its Decisions. And because the two *Sabbatic Titles* of the *Pharisaic Law* took up so great a part of the whole Work, I judged it proper to prefix a Discourse concerning the *Nature, Authority and usefulness of this original Law* to those two Titles.

The weight of this Body of Law depends in a great Measure upon the Time when it was writ. Those Chronologers among the *Jews* who assign the lowest Date of the Writing of the *Misna* tell us, that *R. Juda* compiled it about the 120th Year after the Destruction of the second Temple. That falls in with the Time of *Septimius Severus*, or at most of his Son *Caracalla*. But of others of them, and they Men of the greatest weight, who tell us great Things of the kindness which *Antoninus Pius* had for that *Rabbi*, suppose it to have been written in his Time, which sets it about 60 Years higher. It is certain that there is nothing in the Book it self, which betrays a later Date than the highest Period. And then, why should not the *Jews* be believed in a Matter which so entirely relates to themselves? No possible reason of Interest can be assigned why it should be antedated. It is certain the *Gemarists* are frequently at a loss to explain Things therein contained; for which reason the later Commentators are so often divided about its meaning. Mr. *Guise* has shewn this very fully in his Annotations upon the first six Titles of the *Order of Seeds*, and though perhaps he may now and then have born harder upon the *Rabbins*, who have comment-

ed upon the *Misna* than he needed (as *Surenbusius* sometimes complains) yet he is most certainly very often in the right when he shews their Ignorance. This shews the great Antiquity of that Book, for as there is no Dispute of the great Reverence paid by all the *Rabbanist Jews* throughout the World to this very Day, to that Collection of Traditions from the Time when it was first published; so when many things therein contained have been unknown to their learnedest Men for near 1200 Years, we may be sure the whole is very ancient.

Now if the *Misna* be so old, as the *Jews* say it is, we need not Question but the Traditions that were receiv'd by their wise Men, who lived whilst the second Temple stood, are there preserved with great Integrity. It is very likely that there were written Collections made by private Men, tho' not authentically receiv'd by the great Councils of *Tiberias* or *Jabne*, which were older than that which *R. Juda* made, which might be of use to him when he drew up his general Code. In *Hadrian's* Time the *Jews* were too much harass'd to make any such Collection. Nor were they much more at ease under his immediate Predecessor *Trajan*. But under his next Successor *Antoninus Pius* they were tolerably quiet, and then was the proper time to attempt such an Undertaking. The necessity of doing it was very visible; their Traditions were grown to be excessively numerous, and since all that related to the Temple-Service could not be then possibly observed, since the greatest part of them were driven out of *Judaea*; since those that remained were not suffered to obey the Law of *Moses* in some of its most principal Parts; since the Laws of Tithes, Offerings and first Fruits of the seventh Year, besides many others, were particularly appropriated to them whilst they possess'd that Land, and could now no longer be put in practice, because the Temple-service, which was the Basis of the whole,

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was entirely abrogated; and since they also then firmly believed as they still do, that their Nation should be one Day re-instated in their promised Land, where they might observe the Law in its full extent, and with the utmost freedom; they could not according to their own Principles do a wiser thing than to digest all their Traditions under proper Heads, and commit them to Writing, that their Posterity might know what the practice of their Forefathers was when their Temple stood, and when their Worship was in its full lustre. And this is what we are told *R. Juda the Holy*, and the Men of his Generation, did at that Time.

Now as this was done for the Use of their Countrymen without any View (as far as we can possibly discern) of pleasing Strangers of any denomination whatsoever, or of representing themselves either to Christians or Gentiles other than what they really were, we may well conclude that it was done with all the Fidelity and Exactness of which the Thing was capable. I take it for granted no Men ever use disguises or arts of Concealment where there is no occasion, and much more where it is hurtful. Now to themselves, and to themselves alone, these Masters wrote; and that too when some of them might remember the second Temple standing if the *Mishna* was written under *Antoninus*, or at least might have much of what they wrote from those that did, if it was not drawn up till the time of *Severus*. We may then certainly conclude that *R. Juda* set down the practice of his own time upon every Head of the *Mosaic* Law concerning which he treated, (and I do not remember that he has omitted any Laws of general use concerning which one would expect to find any additional Rules) as it was observed by the *Pharisees* of whom he was the Head whilst he lived. And if the Traditions which *Jerome* mentions, which he had from the *Rabbin* who taught him *Hebrew*, do not al-

ways agree with the *Misnic* Law, as learned Men have observed that they do not; yet that is no Objection against the *Misna*, or against the veracity of its Compilers, because the *Jews*, with whom St. *Jerome* conversed, might have many Reasons not to be willing to have their Mysteries laid open to so inquisitive and so zealous a Christian as that Father was. This is certain, that learned Christians who since the revival of good Letters in *Europe* have endeavoured to search into these Things, have complained of the difficulties which they met with from the unwillingness of the *Jews* to have these their greatest Secrets laid open to common View. The Reason of this is very plain. The *Misnic* Law, and the voluminous Readings upon it were collected with a design of being useful to the *Jews* whensoever their *Messiah* should appear: But there was no probability of his appearing in St. *Jerome's* time, and surely there is as small probability now. They therefore rightly judg'd that they should get little more than being laught at by the generality of Christians, if they should let them see what prodigious Pains a poor deluded Nation had taken in collecting Traditions, which could only be useful when that Polity should be restored, which these Christians firmly believed to be absolutely abolished. And this led them to be unwilling to discover those Secrets to Men who wou'd set so little value upon them.

However since this is the Case; and since the *Misna* may now with common Industry be easily comprehended by Christians, we may certainly conclude that wherever it gives light to any Custom, Passage or Phrase mentioned in the old and new Testament, its light may certainly be depended upon. And as the Voice of a Nation is of more weight than the Testimony of any single Person of that Nation, let his Quality, Learning or Means of Information be what they will, so the Authority of the *Misna* concerning

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cerning any Custom or Usage of the *Jews* in our blessed Saviour's time, where it is not contradicted in the new Testament, and much more where it really illustrates any Text therein contained, ought to outweigh any thing which may be alledged out of *Philo Judaeus* or *Josephus*, and much more out of any Christian Writers who lived some Ages after the second Temple was overthrown, and the *Jewish* Polity destroyed.

This led Dr. *Lightfoot* to take so much Pains to illustrate the most considerable Books of the new Testament out of the *Talmudic* writers. And since there is not one single Instance that can be produced out of the Evangelists of any *Jewish* Tradition or Custom there hinted at or expressly mentioned, which cannot be verified by the *Misna*, it undeniably proves the very great use which has been, and may still be farther made of that Book, to illustrate the Sayings of our Blessed Lord, and the Reasonings of the Apostles and Evangelists.

I am well aware that *Isaac Vossius* makes a Jest of all this. He despises every thing which he calls *Rabbinical*, and will not allow any Authority to what the whole Body of the *Jewish Masters* have said, or can say upon sacred Subjects. He was without Controversy a very learned Man, but as he was exceedingly apt to overlook his Adversaries, to many of whom he was far superior in Erudition and Parts; so his fondness for his own Opinions, to which he was excessively wedded, made him seldom enough consider what was, or what might be justly said on the other side.

What first led him to this extreme contempt of all the *Jewish* Writers who have lived since *Josephus's* time, was his endeavour to prove the divine Inspiration of the *Greek* Version of the old Testament, which is commonly attributed to the *LXXII* Interpreters who are supposed to have translated it out of *Hebrew* at the command of *Ptolemee Philadelphus*, the second

Macedonian King of Aegypt after the Death of *Alexander the Great*. If that Translation was made by the direction of the Holy Ghost ; and if the Copies which we have of it are entire, allowing for the unavoidable Errors which the ignorance or carelessness of Copyers must have introduced, from which the new Testament is by no means exempt ; then the *Hebrew Text* which we have from the *Jews* is in very many Places corrupt, and neither it, nor any Translation which has been made from it, from *St. Jerome's Time* to this very Day, can be by any means depended upon as tolerably perfect. Consequently we must and ought to recur to the Version of the *LXX* in all Cases of difficulty where it differs from the *Hebrew Text*, and in that alone we are bound to acquiesce.

I shall therefore give here a short Account of what this learned Man says, so far as it relates to my Purpose, without entring into his main Question concerning the Inspiration of the *LXX*, any farther than my present Subject, which is the Vindication of the historical Truth of the *Jewish Traditions* that are preserved in the *Misna* and its Commentators either ancient or modern are concerned in it. Now the Sum of what *Isaac Vossius* says upon this Head is as follows.

“ He supposes that the *Hebrew Tongue* was entirely understood when the *LXX Interpreters* translated the Old Testament into *Greek* ^b; but that then by degrees it was so much disused, that long before *Aquila's Time*, who made a literal Version

^b Si quis rectè calculum ponat, velit nolit fateatur necesse est, non potuisse insigniter mutari linguam [Hebraeam] ante *Olymp.* CXVII. r. quando nempe à Ptolemaeo Lagi F. dolo capta fuere Hierosolyma. Cum verò xxvii annis postea sacrae literae à Lxx in Græcum fuerint conversae sermonem, necesse est brevi hoc spatio totam interiisse Hebraeam linguam, quod nemo prudens ut existimo facile admisit. *Isaaci Vossii observat. Variar.* p. 373.

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“ of the Old Testament into *Greek* in the second
 “ Century, it was in a manner quite lost; so that the
 “ *Rabbins* themselves could not understand it^c. That
 “ the *Greek* Translation of the LXX was approved
 “ by our Lord and his Apostles, who receiv’d it *with-*
 “ *out Exception*^d. That the *Greek* was the MOTHER-
 “ TONGUE of the *Jews*, who lived at that Time at
 “ *Jerusalem*^e”; which Notion of his he carries so
 far, as even to assert, that “ none but HALF LEARNED
 “ Men and ENTHUSIASTS ever affirmed that our
 “ blessed Saviour and his Apostles spoke *Syriac*^f.

“ That the *Syriac* Language was never heard of
 “ till the *Arabians* were Masters of *Judaea*. That
 “ nothing but *Greek* was spoken there before. That
 “ those Christians who wrote in *Syriac*, as *Bar-*
 “ *desanes*, *Archelaüs* of *Emesa*, *Ephrem Syrus*, and
 “ others, were all either *Parthians* or *Arabs*. That
 “ the *Chaldee* was only a Dialect of the *Arabic*; tho’
 “ he is forced at the same time to allow that the
 “ *Jews*, who were carry’d into *Babylonia* by *Nebu-*
 “ *chadnezzar*, learnt the *Chaldaean* Language in that
 “ Countrey. That notwithstanding this, in the Ro-
 “ man Times *Greek* was the only Language that was
 “ used in the Synagogues of *Jerusalem*, excepting

^c Usque ad tempora Aquilae nulla alia lecta fuit scriptura in omnibus Judaeorum synagogis, praeter illam LXX interpretum: perierat quippe intellectus linguae Hebraeae, utpote quam ne ipsi quidem callerent Judaeorum Rabbini. *ibid.* p. 274.

^d In novo Testamento ubique & SINE EXCEPTIONE Christus & Apostoli semper per Os LXX loquuntur interpretum. *ibid.* p. 335.

^e Ut in totâ ditione Romanâ, ita quoque in *Syriâ* Palaestinâ, Graeca erat vernacula lingua. *ibid.* p. 374.

^f Pergit Simonius Christum & Apostolos Hierosolymis locutos fuisse *Syriacè*. Et sanè infinitum possit producere non SEMIDOTORUM tantum, sed & FANATICORUM sic sentientium agmen, in templo & synagogis non libenter admittentium linguam ut ipsi loquuntur profanam. *ibid.* p. 375.

“ some few that were frequented by *Parthian* and
 “ *Arabian Jews*, because the *Romans* would not
 “ have allow’d them to preach in any other Lan-
 “ guage &.

“ That the *Misna* was not written in *Hebrew*, as
 “ now we have it before *Justinian’s* time, and then
 “ it was drawn up in that Language, because that
 “ Emperor had forbidden the *Jews* to read their
 “ Books of Traditions in *Greek* in their Synagogues
 “ as they had used to do before^h. That *Justinian*
 “ could mean nothing but such a *Greek Collection* so
 “ intituled, because the *Jews* had no other common
 “ Language throughout the whole *Roman Empire*
 “ besides the *Greek*ⁱ. That the *Hebrew Traditions* of
 “ St.

g Serò demum in Palaestina auditum est nomen linguae Syriacae, postquam nempe Arabes vacantes Judaeorum invasere Terras——Omnes isti Christiani Patres qui apud Eusebium in Historiâ Ecclesiasticâ & alibi memorantur, quales sunt Bardeſanes, Archelatus, Eusebius Emisenus, Ephraim & caeteri qui Syriacè scripsere, illi omnes Parthici vel Arabici fuere generis——nunquam Judaei passi sunt linguam suam appellari Cananaeam seu Syriacam——Chaldaea lingua fit Dialectus Arabicae——puto me non errare, si audacter affirmavero tempore Christi in omnibus Hierosolymitanis Synagogis, paucis forsan exceptis quas Parthici & Arabici generis frequentarent Judaei, SOLAS *Lectus* fuisse quas LXX Interpretes tradiderunt Scripturas, cum SOLA iis Graeca esset VERNACULA lingua——in Templo Hierosolymitano habitas fuisse conciones linguâ Hebraeâ, aut quocunque alio Graecis & Romanis ignoto Sermone, id omnino Romanae non permisissent Leges, quae unâ cum Jugo, Graecae quoque aut Latinae linguae necessitatem omnibus à se victis imposuere gentibus. *Ibid. pagg.* 376, 377, 378.

h Primus liber Hebraicè conscriptus fuit *Misna*, idque tempore Justiniani aut non multum postea, cujus rei causam fuisse existimo, quod cum hujus Imperatoris edicto cautum esset ne Judaei in Synagogis legerent *Διδαχαις* seu Librum Traditionum, illi ut Edictum eluderent, scriptum hoc in Hebraeum converterint Sermonem. *Ibid. pag.* 285.

i Debuisset [Simonius] ostendere, si non Graeco, quo demum sermone conscriptus fuerit Liber ille Traditionum seu
Διδαχαις

“ St. Jerome upon *Genesis*; and other Books of the
 “ old Testament were certainly translated out of
 “ Greek, because *Διέγερσις* (*Tradition*) is a Greek
 “ Word^k, which Proposition (that I may observe
 “ that by the by) is most certainly true. That what
 “ *Justinian* forbade to be read by the *Jews* in their
 “ Synagogues, was a *second Edition* of *Aquila's* Ver-
 “ sion, which had in the Margin a number of *Jew-*
 “ *ish* Traditions collected by *Aquila*, that were after-
 “ wards turned into *Hebrew*, and constituted what
 “ the *Jews* call the *Misna*, which is the Greek word
 “ turned into *Hebrew*. That this may be proved
 “ from St. *Jerome*, who says that *Aquila* was R. *A-*
 “ *kiba's* Disciple, and that the *Misna* sufficiently de-
 “ clares that all the *Traditions of the Masters* were
 “ owing to this *Rabbi*^l.” So that if we go to any
 Rabbinical Writings of what sort soever, either to
 understand the Bible, or any thing else of *Jewish* An-
 tiquity that is genuine, we shall lose our time egregi-

Διέγερσις cujus mentionem facit Justinianus, cum in toto Im-
 perio Romano Graeca, non ulla alia Judaeorum vernacula fu-
 erit Lingua. *Ibid. pag. 350.*

^k Ecquis dubitet Traditiones Hebraicas Hieronymi in Ge-
 nesin & reliquos sacrae Scripturae Libros è Graeco fuisse tran-
 slatas sermone? Ipsum quoque *Διέγερσις* nomen annon clarè
 satis Graecam testatur scriptionem? *Ibid. pagg. 350, 351.*

^l Neceffum est secundam istam Aquilae Editionem, non tan-
 tum sacrorum Librorum continuiffe Versionem, sed & Com-
 mentariis seu Annotationibus Margini adscriptis fuisse instructam,
 ex Judaeorum Traditionibus ab eodem compilatis Aquilâ. Nec
 dubito quin magnam Hebraicarum Traditionum partem exinde
 descripserit Hieronymus. Istas verò Aquilae Traditiones He-
 braicè fuisse conversas, & ex illis desumptum & confirmatum esse
 Librum *Misnae*—recentiores Rabbinî unanimiter fatentur quic-
 quid *Διέγερσις* seu Traditionum hodie superest, beneficio R.
Akibae ad se pervenisse. Ipsum quoque quoque *Misnae* Scrip-
 tum id satis declarat. At verò Aquilam Profelytum interpretem
 scripturae & Collectorem *Διέγερσις* omnia à R. *Akibâ* hausisse
 necesse est, utpote cujus fuisse Discipulum testatur Hieronymus
 ad *Esaïam* cap. viii. *Ibid. pag. 352.*

ously.

ously. " For, says he, we should have known nothing of *Hector* or *Achilles*, of *Caesar* or *Alexander*; " we should have had no Memorials of *Moses* or *Solomon*, no old or new Testament, if it had not been " for *Greek* or *Latin* Books, in which these things " are contained, and from which they have been " propagated ^m." " He treats *Dr. Lightfoot* with " great scorn for interpreting the new Testament " out of the *Rabbins*, and thinks it a less fault to explain the Gospels out of the *Alchoran* than out of " the *Talmud* ⁿ, since the Compilers of that Work " were a 1000 Years later than the things which are " illustrated from it. And he hopes that poor Christians will cease at last to play the Fool, and will " not always trust to *Jewish* Fables, but rather believe *Christ* and the Gospels than those Enemies to " the Truth, who endeavour to support Christianity out of the *Talmud*, and the Writings of the " *Rabbins* ^o.

If

^m Nullus erit *Hector* aut *Achilles*, non *Caesar* vel *Alexander*, nulla vel *Moyſis* vel *Solomonis* Fama, nullum Vetus aut Novum Testamentum, nullae omnino Artes aut Scientiae supererunt, nullaeque rerum praeteritarum memoriae: peribunt omnia & mera succedet Barbaries, cum soli sint *Graeci* & *Latini* Libri, quibus omnia haec & continentur & propagantur. *Ibid.* pag. 339.

ⁿ Ipse Titulus [*Horarum Hebraicarum* & *Thalmudicarum*] stuporem incusserit, minusque mihi peccaturus videatur, qui ex *Alcorano*, quàm qui è *Thalmude* exponat Evangelia; longè tamen major subiit me Admiratio, ubi cognovi non tantùm *Philoni*, *Josepho*, & omnibus qui illos praecessere *Judaeis*, sed & ipsis quoque Evangeliiis praeferrì Auctoritatem *Thalmudis*. *Ibid.* pag. 332. & rursum: Ex istà tamen Barbarie & caecà caligine suppetias novi Testamenti scriptoribus afferre *Thalmudicus* iste conatur Commentator, ac si lux Evangelica fiat illustrior si nebulis inficiatur *Rabbinicis*. *Ibid.*

^o Sit modus ineptiendi, & cessent tandem aliquando miseri *Christiani* *Judaicis* istiusmodi fidere Fabellis: credant potius *Christo* & Evangeliiis, quàm Inimicis veritatis, qui è *Thalmude* &

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If one should object that there are several *Jewish* Rites mentioned in their Writings, which are to be found in the New Testament, *Isaac Vossius* immediately replies, "That he knows that the *Rabbins* had read the Gospels with perhaps as much Diligence as the Christians; and tho' they do not acknowledge *Jesus Christ*, yet they have collected the Rites of the ancient *Hebrews* from the Gospels and the Acts, and inserted them into their own Writings. That these Rites thus originally taken from Christian Writers, when our modern People read them in their Books, they collect them as so many Jewels, believing that the *Rabbins* have them conveyed down by a constant Tradition handed down successively among themselves; whereas it is certain that there is no *Hebrew* or *Rabbinical* Book extant older than the *Misna*; so that for 1000 Years, reckoning from *Artaxerxes* (under whom *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* lived) to the Age of *Justinian* they have nothing of their own that they can so much as found a Lye upon. That if they say any thing that is true of *Akiba*, *Hillel*, or any other famous *Rabbin*, they owe it to *Origen* and *Jerome*, tho' chiefly to the latter, without whom they would not have so much as known their Names: That unless they had been beholding to the *Gentiles*, who believed in *Jesus Christ*, who preserved the old *Greek* Translation, and the Writings of *Philo*, *Josephus*, and *Aristeas*, the *Jews*, *Samaritans* and *Saracens*, would have been no more acquainted with *Moses* or *Abraham*, than those who live in the Midland Parts of *Brasile* P.

And

& scriptis Rabbinorum Christianismum adstruere conantur. *Ibid.* pag. 330.

P Quod verò Ritus attinet, SCIMUS ET NOS Rabbinos non minùs forsan diligenter legere Evangelia, quàm Christianos; & quamvis

And yet after he had thus *strongly averred* these things in his first Answer to *F. Simon*, when he found himself prest by that Father, who opposed his Scheme of the Inspiration of the LXX with great sharpness, he “confesses that the *Hebrew* Copy of the old Testament was lodged in the *Alexandrian* Library along with the *Greek* Version of the LXX. And he thinks there is no reason to doubt but there were many Copies of the Bible in which the *Hebrew* Text and *Greek* Version were both together, which were read in the Synagogues before *Christ*’s time &c.” Tho’ afterwards he contradicts this, and says, “That before *Christ*, and in his time, and af-

quamvis Christum non admittant, ritus tamen veterum Hebraeorum ex Evangeliiis & Actibus Apostolicis colligere, & in suos transferre Commentarios. Istos vero Ritus cum legunt Christiani, velut gemmulas colligunt, existimantes ex perenni Traditione conservatam à Rabbiniis eorum fuisse Memoriam; cum tamen certissimum sit, nullum scriptum Hebraeum aut Rabbini-cum superesse, quod Misnâ & Thalmude sit vetustius, adeo ut de toto istoc intervallo, quod Artaxerxis & Justiniani Imperatoris Aetatem intercessit, intercessere autem Anni plus minus mille, ne quidem quod mentiantur habent Judaei—Si itaque exceperis ea, quae ex Evangeliiis, Aristaeâ, Philone, Josepho, & Gentium hausere Annalibus; nihil omnino de toto hoc tempore in illorum supererit scriptis, quod non sit Commentitium. Si quid veri de R. Akibâ, Hillele, & aliis in illorum occurrat Libris, omne id habent ab Origene & praecipuè Hieronymo, cuius saepe in Thalmude fit mentio. Absque illis istorum ne quidem nôssent Nomina—Nisi gentium & illorum qui è Gentibus Christo crediderunt conservatae fuissent memoriae, ne vel MOYSIS quidem vel ABRAHAMIS superesset Nomen: Aequè illud ignotum Judaeis, Samaritis & Saracenis esset, quàm illis qui in mediâ vivunt Brasiliâ. *Ibid. pagg. 327, 328.*

¶ Graecae LXX Interpp. Versioni in iis Voluminibus quae in Alexandrinam relata fuere Bibliothecam, accessisse quoque Hebraica omnino constat. Quin ad illorum exemplum constructa fuerint complura Exemplaria in quibus Graeca & Hebraea junctim prostant, quaeque in Synagogis diu etiam ante tempora Christi legerentur, de eo quoque nulla omnino ut dubitemus est Causa. *Ibid. pag. 364.*

terwards,

“terwards, the LXX's Version only was read in all
 “the Jewish Synagogues throughout the Roman
 “World, even in Jerusalem itself^r.”

This is the sum of what this learned Man says. This he repeats very many times in his Defence of what he had maintained formerly in his Tracts concerning the Authority of the LXX, and his Discourse of the Sibylline Oracles, against the Objections of F. Simon, who stands up for the Integrity of the Hebrew, in his critical History of the old Testament, and in other Discourses written in Defence of what he had there laid down. I have chosen to set his own Words down in the Margin, tho' they are sometimes pretty long, that those who possibly may not have his various Observations by them, may be satisfied that I do not misrepresent him. And in Truth many of the Propositions there laid down are so very strange, that I ow'd it to my self to shew that I had laid nothing to the charge of so very learned a Man, but what he himself affirms in direct Words. For it must be acknowledged that if a less Man than Isaac Vossius had asserted many of the Propositions here maintained, they would have been receiv'd with as much contempt as he bestows upon any of his Adversaries; but since Contempt is no Answer, let us see what may be justly reply'd to his Hypothesis.

I. His Assertion that none but poor ignorant People in Countrey Villages in Judaea spoke Syriac in our Blessed Saviour's time, ^r is certainly false. Our Lord
 when

^r Dixeram tempore Christi, & antè, & postea, in omnibus Judaeorum SYNAGOGIS toto Romano Orbe disperfis, solam *le-
 tam* fuisse LXX Interpp. Versionem, etiam in ipsis Hierosoly-
 mis. Quid ad haec P. Simonius? Nullo omnino teste; licèt ad
 me provocet,—affirmat Fl. Josephum Legem Moysis in Syna-
 goga Hebraicè interpretatum fuisse. *Ibid. pagg. 373, 374.*

^r Ut in Aegypto, Asia, & reliqua Syria; ita quoque in Ju-
 daea, nulla praeter Graecam audiebatur Lingua in Urbibus prae-
 sertim

when he was upon the Cross spoke the Language of the Countrey, when instead of quoting the Greek Version of the xxii^d Psalm he said, *Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani*. Now if he had used himself to preach constantly in Greek, as *Vossius* says he did, he would hardly have spoken in the Language of the Peasants of the Countrey, when he cried out in his extremest Agonies at that time. When he raised the Daughter of *Jairus*, who was a Ruler of a Synagogue, and consequently no mean Person, he said to her in *Syriac*, *Talitha cumi*, i. e. *Damsel arise*; which Words are still retained in the old *Syriac* Version. Now if *Vossius* roundly asserts that in the Synagogues of *Judaea* no Language was used but Greek. That *Jairus's* Daughter understood that Tongue is evident upon that supposition. Why then should our Blessed Lord chuse to speak in the Language of the meanest of the People, rather than in Greek, when he was to shew his Power upon the Daughter of a Man whose Employment necessarily led him to understand the more fashionable Tongue, which every Sabbath-day at least he was obliged to use? But this he will tell us was done in the Countrey, where the People might perhaps commonly converse in their ancient Tongue, tho' even that contradicts what he had asserted before of the Service of the Synagogue. But what will he then say to the Men of *Jerusalem*, where (if you will believe him) there were no Synagogues except those of the *Parthians* and *Arabs* in which any Language was used but Greek? Yet there when the *Sanhedrin* had bought a Field to bury Strangers in, with the thirty Pieces of Silver that had been given to *Judas Iscariot*, as the Price for betraying his Master, it

sertim oppidisque, soli illi qui Rure & in Pagis versabantur, aut denique vilis Popellus Dialecto utebantur Vernaculâ, i. e. *Syriacâ*, & illa quoque seculorum lapsu, plurimum immutata & facta semigræca. *Ibid.* pag. 290.

was called ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἀγορεύον αὐτῶν, in their proper Tongue *Aceldama*, i. e. *The Field of Blood*. If that Word which is certainly *Syriac*, was the Name by which the People called that Field, because they would speak in the Mother Tongue, then it is as certain that *Syriac* was the Mother-Tongue of the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* at that time. The Words will bear no other Sense. The Question is not by what Name that Language was called at that time, whether *Hebrew*, or *Chaldee*, or *Syriac*; the Question is, Whether *Greek* was then the Mother Tongue of the Men of *Jerusalem*? Which *St. Luke* plainly says it was not. That the vulgar Language of *Judaea* at that time is called *Hebrew* in the new Testament, is not to be deny'd; but that the Specimens of it there preserved are written in the Dialect which we now call *Syriac*, is as manifest: Even in that Language in which we have that most ancient Version of the Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists that is now called the *Syriac Testament*; which Version is used by the Christians of *Syria* at this Day, for whose use it was first beautifully printed at the Expence of the Emperor *Ferdinand I.* then King of the *Romans* at *Vienna* in 1555, at the Instance of *Moses Merodinaeus*, a *Syrian* Priest, who was sent into *Europe* by *Ignatius*, then Patriarch of *Antioch*, for that Purpose. Now since it is *Things*, not *Names*, concerning which we are now disputing, it is plain that this Language was commonly spoken at *Jerusalem* in the Apostle's time.

But besides what I have said already, what I have farther now to say will put this whole matter beyond all Controversy. *St. Luke* tells us, that when *St. Paul* appeared in the Temple, after his return out of *Asia*, *Acts* xxi. he was seized upon in a tumultuous manner by the *Jews*, and rescued from them by *Lysias* the Governor of the Castle, to whom he address'd himself in *Greek*, desiring that he might have leave

leave to make his Defence to the People. When leave was given him, he spoke to them in *Hebrew*, i. e. in the Language which he thought they would understand best, and then St. Luke tells us, *they the more willingly kept silence. Acts xxii. 1.* Among his Audience were Men of the greatest Distinction in the City at that time, as appears by his saluting them with the Title of *Men, Brethren and Fathers*. It is pretty strange now, that after all these Things which were perfectly known to *Isaac Vossius*, he could affirm the *Greek* to have been the Mother Language of the Citizens of *Jerusalem* at that time. But this is what the *Greeks* elegantly call *being enslaved to an Hypothesis*; and it holds generally true, that when once Men are in Bondage to *Notions* as well as *Persons*, they think themselves bound to serve them right or wrong.

II. I will willingly allow, that after the *Macedonian* Kings of *Syria* of the Family of *Seleucus* had once conquer'd *Judaea*, and brought the Inhabitants under Subjection, as they did under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the *Greek* Language was commonly understood by the better sort of People in *Judaea*: But then that is no Argument why the *Hebrew* Tongue should be so lost, as not to be understood by the *Jews* of the best Quality in our Saviour's Time. That the *Jews* in *Babylonia* in *Zorobabel's* Time (and much more in the Time of *Nebemiah*) learnt *Chaldee* so far, that even those that came back spoke little else upon their Return into their own Land, is I believe certain. Yet *Vossius* allows *Hebrew* not to have been then lost; and indeed the thing is evident from the Books of *Ezra* and *Nebemiah*, and the Prophecies of *Zechariah*, *Haggai*, and *Malachi*, which were written under the *Persian* Monarchy in that Language. But then *Nebemiah*, who was directed by *Ezra* in every thing of that nature, caused the Law to be read in *Hebrew* for the use of every one that could

could understand it, and gave the Sense, i. e. interpreted it in *Chaldee*, that the rest might understand the Reading. (*Nehem. viii. 3, 7, 8.*) This shews the Reverence which was paid to the Book of the Law at that Time. And we cannot judge it to have been less under the *Maccabees*, after they had restored the Publick Worship which had been overthrown under *Antiochus*. And as to the People's preserving their own corrupt *Chaldaic* Dialect in *Jesus Christ's* Time, why that should be thought so strange I cannot see. Do not the *Welshmen* still preserve their Language, tho' the *Romans*, the *Saxons* and the *Normans* have by turns conquered the Countrey of which the ancient *Britons* once were Masters? The Conquest of the *Romans* was entire, and they possess all *South-Britain* for about 400 Years. Now tho' there are very many *Latin* words crept into the *British* (or *Welsh*) Language, by reason of the long Commerce which their Forefathers had with the *Romans*, yet the Language may justly be looked on as still the same in the main: The *English*, who live commonly among them in all Parts of *Wales*, have been so far from destroying their Tongue, that at the Reformation it was found to be necessary to turn the Bible and Liturgy into *Welsh*, for the use of the Inhabitants. *Carmarthen* is one of the largest Towns in *Wales*; *English* is there commonly spoken, and there are very many Persons of Distinction who live in that Town, all of whom speak *English* perfectly well, and several of them little or no *Welsh*: Yet there are several hundreds of People in that Parish who scarce understand a word of *English*, and they make up a numerous Congregation who attend the Service of God with a very commendable Assiduity, performed in their own Language every Lord's Day. In all the other Parishes of *Carmarthenshire* (which is one of the largest Counties in *Wales*) except in some few by the Sea-side, if the Service of God should be per-

formed in any other Tongue besides *Welsh*, scarce one in ten of the People would understand what was said in any tolerable measure. And it is not easie to be believed by an *Englishman* who has not lived a good while among them, how very tenacious that People still are of their Language, in which they have many Volumes both in Prose and Verse, but chiefly in the latter, both printed and in MS. which are preserved with great care in the Libraries of the curious.

This love for their Mother Tongue is not only to be seen among the common People, but among Men of the greatest Rank, and the best Education. I could name more than one or two Counties of *Wales*, where the Gentlemen who have all had their Education in *England*, (where they have made as good a Figure for Learning and Politeness as any *Englishmen* whatsoever, and where they have been deservedly esteemed and preferred to the most reputable Posts of the Gown and the Sword, without any manner of discrimination) and yet speak their native Tongue, not only readily but elegantly, and value themselves upon that their knowledge. I am pleased that my Subject has given me a handle to go a little out of my way, that I might say this of a worthy and valuable People, to whom I have so great Obligations, and of a copious and elegant Language, in which there are still extant very considerable Remains, some of the chiefest of which will I hope shortly see the Light.

III. Here is now a living Instance of a People enjoying the same Laws and Privileges with the rest of their Countreymen, who have not only preserved their primitive Language entire for so many Ages, but who will not (at least very many of the inferior Rank) so much as learn the Tongue of those with whom they daily have occasion to converse. Now this holds much more forcibly, with respect to the *Jews* who lived in *Palaeftine* in our Blessed Saviour's time; their Law was originally written in *Hebrew*,
a corrupt

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a corrupt Dialect of which they daily spoke. *Vossius* allows it to be probable that the *Hebrew* Text of the Law was written along with the *Greek* Version for the use of the Synagogues in *Judaea*, after the Version was publicly received. What then should lead them to discontinue that Custom? Especially when *Nehemiah* had shewed them how to preserve the Knowledge of that Language by reading the *Hebrew* Text first, and then explaining it to the People. Our Author should have assigned a Time when that Practice was laid aside, and have produced plain and express Authorities from Writers every way worthy of Credit, in a matter of so great weight as this. Neither his nor *Morinus's* averment (whom he frequently calls in to his assistance) are at all satisfactory in a thing of this nature. The *Maccabees* were as zealous for the Honour of their Law as *Nehemiah* could possibly be: And if they declared and lamented the Want of a Prophet in many Cases, they would not, we may be morally certain, lay down a Custom introduced by *Nehemiah*, who had inspir'd Men to assist him in what he did. The *Maccabean* or *Hasmonean* Family govern'd *Judaea* till *Herod's* time. *Herod* did all he could to flatter the *Jews*, and could not bear to be thought a Stranger by them. He was so zealous to promote their Religion, that he laid out vast Sums of Money to REPAIR the Temple which was begun to be built by *Zerobabel*†. He

† I say REPAIR the second Temple. It is plain from *St. John*, that the Temple at which our Lord attended when he whipt the Buyers and Sellers out of its Courts, was forty and six Years a building, *John* ii. 20. That then could not be built from the Foundation by *Herod*, as *Josephus* says it was. And yet what clears the Author of the *Jewish Antiquities* from being an Impostor according to *F. Hardouin's* Scheme, is, that the *Gemarists* mention the Stones used by *Herod* about the Temple. Tho' both the Schools of the *Gemarie* Doctors, that of *Jerusalem* and that of *Babylonia*, with the whole *Jewish Nation* ever since, are unanimous in their Assertions, that there never were above two Temples, whereas if *Herod* built one entirely from the Ground, there must have been three. Vid. *L'Empereur Praefat. in Cod. Middoth.*

was under no Obligation to the *Romans*, or to any other Nation which shou'd necessarily induce him to introduce the *Greek* Language into their sacred Offices. If then the *Hebrew* Tongue was preserved so as to be understood by the Doctors in his time, we may safely affirm that it was not lost in *Judaea* whilst he or his Son *Archelaüs* were Kings of that Country, nor in *Galilee* whilst any of his Family were Tetrarchs there.

Besides, when we consider the tenacious Temper of all the *Eastern* Nations, who do not readily depart from the Usages of their Forefathers, what should lead us to imagine that the *Jews* were less careful of the original Text of their Bible than the *Mahometans* are to this Day of the *Alcoran*? The *Arabic* Language, (in which that Book was first written) at least so much of it as relates to their Religion, is generally understood by the Disciples of *Mahomet* in all Countries where that Impostor is believed to be an Apostle of God, let their Mother-Tongue be what it will. All the Expositors of their Law among the *Turks*, the *Persians*, and the *Moors*, understand so much *Arabic* as is necessary to expound it to the People. Dr. *Thomas Smith*, who lived a good while in *Turkey*, tells us that the *Turks* were so superstitious that they will not suffer any Translation of the *Alcoran* to be made into *Turkish*; tho' he observes that the *Persians* are not so nice. That the *Persians* act more consistently with the Principles of Men who believe that the *Alcoran* was sent to *Mahomet* from Heaven to teach Mankind the way to Paradise, than the *Turks*, in this particular is to me unquestionable: Yet this must be allow'd, that the *Turks* in keeping the *Alcoran* from the People, and only suffering their Doctors to expound it, shew a profound Veneration for the original Text of their Law, and for the Language in which it is written.

The

The Force now of all lies in this: The *Hebrew Bible* was so well understood when *Ptolemee Philadelphus* reigned in *Aegypt*, that a Translation was then made of it into *Greek*, which was commonly used throughout the *Roman Empire* in our Lord's time. How the *Hebrew Tongue* came to be lost during that interval *If. Vossius* do's not, nor can he tell us; especially since he allows that the *Synagogical Books* of the *Jews* contain'd both the *Hebrew Text*, and the *Greek Version* some time before. Now if the *Hebrew* was not lost in *Jesus Christ's* time, it would be ridiculous to suppose that it was lost in the time of *Antoninus Pius*, and then it is no Argument against the Antiquity of the *Misna*, that it is written in that Tongue: But if the *Misna* was then extant, it is certain that the *Hebrew Text* of the old Testament, as we now have it, was then well known to, and well understood by those Doctors whose Constitutions are there set down.

IV. No wonder then that *Morinus* and *Vossius* should, when they labour'd to exalt the *LXX* at the Expence of the *Hebrew Text*, endeavour to carry the *Misna* down so low as they do. That is certainly the most considerable Monument of the *Jewish Nation* that has been written since the Destruction of the second Temple: But what Arguments do's *Vossius* bring to prove what he says? Not one; except confident and bold Assertions shall pass for Arguments. I have in the following Sheets shewn at large that *St. Jerome* knew there was such a Collection of Traditions gathered into a Book; but that Book, says *Vossius*, was then in *Greek*, because *St. Jerome* called those Traditions *Δεσώσεις*, i. e. secondary Laws. But is not *Misnaioth* in *Hebrew* the same with *Δεσώσεις* in *Greek*? And is it not likely that *St. Jerome* would use a *Greek* word that was more known, rather than a *Hebrew* word, which was less, especially when he was writing to those who did not understand one word of *Hebrew*, when they

they both signify the same thing? Do's he any where say that these secondary Laws were written in *Greek*, or collected by *Aquila*? Or do's any other ancient Christian writer besides say so? He mentions *Aquila* indeed as *Akiba*'s Scholar, because of his famous Version of the old Testament into *Greek*, which made him so well known to Christians: But he says nothing of any Collection of Traditions by him made, And whereas *Vossius* says that *Akiba* was the great Preserver of those Traditionary Laws, and appeals to the *Misna* for the Truth of what he says, he speaks like one that had scarce read any one Title of that Book; but that I can hardly believe, a Man of such boundless Curiosity as he was, must needs have read those *Misnic* Titles which *Cocceius*, *l'Empereur* and *Sheringham* had publish'd in *Latin*. If I misremember not, he prefixed a Preface to his Brother *Dionysius*'s Version of *Maimonides*'s Tract of *Idolatry*, and that would naturally lead him to carry his Enquiries much farther. But this by the by. *Akiba* is indeed often mention'd in the *Misna*, but no otherwise than any other private Doctor is. He lived in that very time, was contemporary with *R. Juda the Holy*, and was put to death under *Hadrian* for adhering to that Impostor *Barcohab*, and it was natural therefore that many of the Decisions of so famous a Doctor as he was, should be preserved; but I do not believe that his Name occurs so often in the *Misna* as *Rabban Gamaliel's*, for certain not so often as we find the two Houses of *Shammai* and *Hillel* quoted there.

V. I have said a good deal to this in the following Sheets, but I was willing to say something to it here, since I chose to represent the Scheme of this determin'd Enemy of every thing that can be called *Rabbinical* rather in the front of the Work, than in the Book it self. This I did with the more pleasure, because I observed that learned Men who could not enter into his Notions of the authenticalness of the *LXX*'s Version, could with pleasure listen to him, and quote

his

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his Words, when he treated the *Rabbins*, especially the *Talmudists*, with the utmost contempt. But as to his denial of the Antiquity which the *Jews* ascribe to the *Misna*, which should they not be believed in a thing which relates only to themselves, when (as has been observed elsewhere) there is nothing in the Book to contradict the highest Age: I do not remember any single indication of time in that Work lower than the Time of *Hadrian*.

In Title *Avoda Zara*, where the Constitutions relating to things forbidden, because they might administer to idolatrous Purposes are specify'd at large, Men are required not to buy or sell Wine, or Vinegar made of Wine, or *Hadrian's Clay* that belonged to an idol Temple. *Maimonides* tells us that this Clay was a mixture of a particular sort of Earth, which was made into a Paste with Wine. This when it was dry could be easily carry'd in Balls or Lumps in Journies or Marches; and then if Men were in Places where Wine could not be had, they moisten'd it with Water, which made the Clay subside, and then the Wine with which it was made up into a Paste, gave the Water a vinous taste. I am not concern'd to vindicate this Explication of *Maimonides*, it is enough for me that *Hadrian* is named upon this occasion; and this is the lowest hint of Time which I remember in the whole *Misna*. It was proper there should be such a Collection made before their Traditions were forgot, and the time assigned agrees very well to such a purpose.

VI. But what determines me most in this matter is, that the Representation which these Masters give us of the Traditions which they allowed exactly agrees with what we find concerning them in the new Testament. Dr. *Vossius* seems aware of this, and therefore tells us that the *Rabbins* who made

these Collections of oral Laws, had read the new Testament perhaps as carefully as any Christians whatsoever, and so took care to make what they shou'd say answerable to what they there found upon that Subject.

Now this wild Chimaera of his (for in truth it deserves no better Name) confutes it self. For if the *Misna* was written for the *Jews*, and none else, as it certainly was, then it is not to be imagined that its Compilers would have taken the Plan of their Scheme from the Evangelists, who represent the Traditions of the Elders in so very disadvantageous a Light. This will more fully appear, if we enter into Particulars.

Their *Prayers* are accused by our Lord of vain Repetitions: And the Prayers mentioned in Title *Beracoth* are little else? At least, do they not sufficiently make good his Charge? The *Prayers* that are used in the daily *Recital* of the *Shema* are printed here; and the famous *Eighteen*, or *Shemon Esre* (as the *Misna* calls them) have been lately published in our Language by the excellent Dean of *Norwich*, and in *Latin* by *Campegius Vitringa* in his great Work of *the ancient Synagogue*, where those that have not the opportunity of consulting the *Jewish* Liturgies, may satisfy themselves of the Truth of what I say. If the thing had been entire, and *Aquila*, or whoever it was that drew up the *Misna*, might safely have put in what he had pleased into that Body of Laws, could not they then have molded their Prayers after the Pattern that *Jesus Christ* set them in the Evangelists, and have pretended that our blessed Lord borrowed that Prayer from their wise Men, which he taught his Disciples?

What can be a more flagrant Violation of the fifth Commandment, than that which *Jesus Christ* laid to the Charge of the *Pharisees* in *Matth. xv.* and *Mark vii.* by which an indigent Father might be suffer'd to

starve

starve by a graceless Son, only, forsooth, because he had vow'd that his Father should never be the better for him, or any thing that he had? And yet, is there not an express Case to this Purpose in the *Misna* in the Title of *Vows*^w? One would think the Masters had here a fair opportunity of accusing the Evangelists of Prevarication; and when they talked of Dissolution of Vows, they might particularly have condemned and disannulled all Vows, by which Children might engage themselves to withdraw their Assistance from their necessitous Parents. This would have been to have acted with Subtilty, and might have had a very ill Effect in hardening the Hearts of their own People, when they saw their most authentick Books contradict the Account which the Christians gave of their Practices in so considerable an Instance. Whereas now the *Misna* directly justifies the Charge which we find in the Evangelists, and that without any Signs of Remorse for doing so.

Farther, are not all their Subtilties in Tithing abundantly verify'd in the *Misnic* Titles *Demai* and *Maaseroth*? And their superstitious washings of Cups and Vessels in Title *Celim*? Are not the Burthens which they lay upon the Shoulders of the People in many Cases intolerably grievous, and yet have not they (as I think I have evidently demonstrated in this Work) in a world of Instances found out Contrivances to evade, or at least to alleviate the Rigour of the Commands, written as well as oral, and more especially the former? So that in many Cases they were easy enough to themselves, whatsoever they might be to others.

When the *Misna* expressly tells us^x that the *Sham-*

^w See Vol. i. p. 62. infra.

^x בית שמאי אומרים לא יגרש אדם את אשתו אלא אם כן מצא בה דבר ערוה: שנאמר כי מצא בה ערות דבר: ובית הלל אומרים אפילו הקריחה תבשילו: שנאמר כי מצא בה ערות דבר: ר' עקיבא אומר אפילו מצא אחרת נאה הימנה: שנאמר והיה אם

Gitin. ix. 10.

לא תמצא חן בעיני:

maeans

maeans allow'd of no Divorces, unless there was something light found in a Woman's Conduct; because the Text says, *If a Man has found some Uncleanneſs in her*, (Deut. xxiv. 1.) and the *Hillelaeans* allow Divorces, even when a poor Creature had been so unfortunate as to suffer her Husband's Spoe to be burnt to. And when *R. Akiba* justifies this upon the Assertion of the same Text, *If ſhe find no Favour in his Eyes*: Inferring from thence, that a Man may put away his Wife if he thinks another to be handsomer than her. Does not this directly justify what our Lord says *Matt. v. 31. and Matt. xix. 3.* This is the more remarkable, because in this last Text we find the *Phariſees*, pursuant to the Dictates of the *House of Hillel*, of which they were all Members, asking our Lord, *whether it was lawful for a Man to put away his Wife for EVERY CAUSE?*

Most of this, if not all, might have been prevented, if those who drew up, (or rather according to *Is. Vossius* framed) this Body of Traditionary Constitutions had been thoroughly apprized of the Accusations which *Jesus Christ* brought against them in his Sermons to the People, and his Disputations with themselves. And if they had done so (and surely so they would have done, if these *Misnic* Traditions had been the Work of latter Ages, and consequently not actually in force in our Saviour's Time) what a terrible Handle would this have given to the Infidels of this Age to have proclaimed their Disbelief of the Gospels upon this very Score, because they find the Account which the *Jews* give of their own Traditions is directly contradictory in these important Particulars to what we find related of them in the Evangelists? And would our *Freethinkers*, have acquiesced in *Vossius's* Solution of the Matter, and believed that the Compilers of these Constitutions took their Hints in these Instances from the Evangelists? No! they were

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were not so stupid as this comes to, nor would our Unbelievers imagine they were.

When therefore I see such a plain and honest Attestation to the Truth of what our Blessed Lord laid to the *Pharisees* Charge in the Books which their Successors have now for above 1500 Years had in greatest Reverence, I bless God that the *Misna* is still preserved, and since (as has been observed more than once elsewhere) there is nothing in the Book itself which contradicts the highest Age that is assigned to it, I take it for granted that it is so old as the *Jews* say it is. And if it be so old, there was no need of insulting Dr. *Lightfoot* in that contemptuous Manner in which *Is. Vossius* treats him. The Phrases used in the New Testament must then have been well known to those *Misnic* Doctors; and when we see them use like Expressions in parallel Cases, as that good and learned Man has indisputably shewn they did, what they say in plain Matters will certainly explain those, which without their Help appear very intricate in the New Testament. But then *Is. Vossius* might reply, that Dr. *Lightfoot* more frequently quotes the *Jerusalem* and *Babylonish Talmuds* than the Text of the *Misna* itself; and often quotes *Maimonides* too, who did not live above 500 Years ago. But that will not appear strange, when we consider that the *Misna* is only a Collection of short, and for the most part obscure Aphorisms, which served for the Text upon which the *Gemara* Doctors and the other ancientest Ritualists disputed. Still, as that was the Text, so its Phrases and ways of Speaking were religiously imitated by their Posterity, as appears beyond Contradiction in *Maimonides's* *Yad*. And it is chiefly in the Ritual Part of the *Gemara's* that they can be useful to us Christians; and there too no farther than they have the *Misna* for their Guide. But when that is positive and explicit in any Usage, we may, and I think ought to take it for granted, that that Usage

Usage was practised in the Time of *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles, unless where any particular Doctor is quoted, who lived after the Destruction of the second Temple.

And here lies the Strength of what I have said concerning the divine Command for *reading the Shema*, and the *Use of Phylacteries*: For if they were used when our Lord was upon Earth, and if both the *Shammaeans* and the *Hillelaeans* agreed in their Use, and if that Use is not attributed to any later Doctor, (as the *Prozbul* is to the *Elder Hillel* *) then these Usages must have been older than *Jesus Christ*. If they were practis'd in *Ezra's* Time (as they might for any thing we know to the contrary) then it must be allow'd that they were in use during the Captivity: Farther, I desire not. Then the *Words of the Law*, upon which they are founded, must be considered; and if they are allow'd to be as plain for the *reading of the Shema*, the *Phylacteries*, and the *Mezuzoth*, as they are for the *Zizith*, which is confess'd to have been commanded by *Moses*, then they also must have been of divine Authority.

With this I thought to conclude my Preface: But I soon foresaw that I should have the Authority of *Josephus* urged against me, tho' not in these Particulars, in which he is express, yet in many others. Now it must be own'd, that in several things, which both *Josephus* and the *Misnic* Doctors must be equally suppos'd to know, he gives such an Account of them, as is not reconcileable to what those *Misnic* Doctors say. And since he was a Priest (as he says himself) one can hardly imagine he could be ignorant of the Truth of what he has many times asserted. This has so far sway'd many learned Men, that wherever *Josephus* and the *Misna* differ, they have taken it for

* Vide infra, Vol. I. pag. 69, 70.

granted, that his Authority was to be preferred^z. I cannot, I confess, have that Regard for this very elegant Writer, as many great Men who have written upon these Subjects appear to have. I shall give *some* of my Reasons of my Disesteem of his Authority when compared with that of the *Misna*, and but *some* of them; for I shall confine my self to what he says of the *Jewish Laws*, both because the Bounds of a Preface will not allow me to run out to too great a Length, and because that more immediately relates to my present Argument.

My Notion of *Josephus* in short is this, that he never designed his History for his own Countrey-men, but for *Gentile Greeks* and *Romans*; and accordingly concealed, in his whole Narrative of those things in which he had the Old Testament to be his Guide, whatsoever he apprehended might give offence to those his principal Readers, and heighten'd his Colours, as skilful Painters do, wherever he thought any thing might make his Nation appear more venerable in their Eyes. It is plain, by his assuming the Name of *Flavius*, that he was (as he also affirms of himself) very much in favour with that reigning Family which had ruin'd his Countrey, and burnt the Temple. And when the *Jewish* Polity was entirely overturn'd, he resolv'd to draw up such a History of his

^z Videas viros doctos, qui in lectione Rabbinicorum ac Talmudicorum scriptorum aetatem contriverunt, tantum illis tribuere ut ex eorum levissimo assensu vel indicio statim libenter pendeant, eos velut oracula loquentes ex Tripode, & omni exceptione majores auctores audiant, etiam contra clarissima Hieronymi, Epiphanii, quinimo Judaeorum vetustissimorum Philonis & Josephi testimonia, quod mihi non modò magnum illud tot saeculorum spatium quibus Rabbini post vixerunt, sed & ignorantiam, vanitatem, ineptias & contradictiones in eorundem scriptis obvias cogitanti, videtur minimè committendum esse, qui unum Philonis vel Josephi testimonium libenter praetulerim decem Rabbiniis. *J. A. Fabricii Bibliograph. Antiquar.* pag. 67.

Nation, whom he probably looked upon as a People not likely to rise again, as might appear in his Judgment the most venerable to that victorious Nation, for whose Sake alone he writ it. He therefore in the sacred History, where he had no Authors to direct him but those *holy Books* (as he calls them) to which he often appeals, scruples not to vary from, to conceal, and to alter his Texts in some of the weightiest Points, where he thought such Alterations and Concealments might be subservient to that main Design. This Charge, heavy as it is, I shall now endeavour to make good, and I question not but every unprejudic'd Reader will give it on my side.

When he is to give an Account of the giving of the Law upon *Mount Sinai*, he mentions the preceding Thunders and Lightnings pretty nearly as *Moses* had described them in the Book of *Exodus*. He says that was a plain Indication of God's Presence upon the *Mount*; and lest this should not be believed by his *Gentile* Readers, he appeals to the Scriptures for the Truth of what he said^a. So far was well; he had the undoubted Authority of *Moses* to warrant his Assertion: But then, when *Josephus* was to relate what happen'd upon *Moses's* coming down from the *Mount*, where he had fasted 40 Days and 40 Nights, without eating and drinking, he says the People were uneasy at his Stay: Some said he was devoured by wild Beasts; others thought he was taken up to Heaven; whilst others again, who judged more rationally, were for waiting for the Event: All agreeing that they ought not to decamp till they were at a greater Certainty, since *Moses* had expressly commanded them

^a Ἀσφαλαὶ ἦσαν φοβεραὶ τῷς ὁρῶσιν. Ἐπερωτοὶ κατενεχθέντες ἐδή-
λυν τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οἷς Μωϋσῆς ἤθελεν ἀμύνεσθαι παρρησιασθέν-
τι· ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶτον ὡς βύλιον φρονεῖται ἕκαστος· ἢ ἐν ἀνδρομάνῃ. ἰμοὶ
ἢ ἀνάγκη ταῦτα ἰσορρεῖν καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἱερῇς βίβλοις ἀναγέγραπται.
Joseph. Antiqq. Jud. iii. 5. pag. 157, 158. edit. Bernardi.

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This is the Relation which *Josaphus* gives us of what *Moses* so circumstantially delivers in *Exod.* xxxii. and xxxiii. who says, That when the People saw that he stay'd so long upon the *Mount*, they prevailed with *Aaron* to make them a Golden Calf, for as for that *Moses* they wot not what was become of him. (*Exod.* xxxii. 1.) That God sent *Moses* down quickly, telling him that the People had already corrupted themselves: That he threaten'd to destroy that whole Race, and to make of *Moses* a great Nation. That when he and *Josbua* came down from the *Mount*, and *Josbua* was surpriz'd with the Shouting and Dancing which he heard, *Moses* inform'd him what Sort of a Noise it was. That when he came near the Camp, he threw the Tables of Stone out of his Hands, and broke them at the Foot of the Hill. That the Tribe of *Levi* stood by him, and killed at his Command 3000 of the chiefest Offenders; and that it was with great Difficulty that God was so far appeased at the Intercession of *Moses*, as to continue his Protection to a People who had so soon forgotten the great things which God had done for them.

What shall we say now, when we compare *Moses's* Account of a Transaction, in which he himself had so great a Share, with the Relation of it by *Josephus*?

ἡ Ἡδὴ ἡ τοσαυτοῦ ἡμερῶν διελθούσῃ, ἡ τοσούτων νυκτῶν, πα-
ρῇ αὐτοῦς ὁρίσῃ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενομένην γένεσιν· ἡμερῶν δ'
ἐνέπλησσε τὴν σελήνην ἰσχυραίως· ἡ τὴν Ὀυρανὸν ἡν εἶχε ἀστρονομῶν
ἀπιδόξῃ—ταῦτ' εἰπὼν δὲ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπιδείκνυσιν, ἐκείνων γε-
νην ἐχούσας τὰς δέκα λίγας. Ibid. pag. 160.

Is not his Concealment of this whole Affair a gross Prevarication? But so quick a Defection was (as he thought, and surely therein he was not in the wrong) a Dishonour to his Nation, and a Reflection upon *Aaron*, who was afterwards made High Priest, and that high Office made hereditary to his Family for his great and singular Virtues, if this Writer may be credited ^c. He chose therefore to falsify the History, as believing that those Readers, whom he principally designed to instruct, would not readily find him out.

I shall only farther observe upon this Head, that this unfair Representation of this History gave one of the Copiers (or perhaps one of the ancient Possessors of a *Josephus* MS.) so great Offence, that he has left behind him in the Margin of his Book this Exclamation, which is in truth a Protestation against the Fidelity of this Historian; *Thou leavest out, O Josephus, the History of the making of the Golden Calf, out of Reverence for thy Fore-fathers* ^d.

With this Preface he begins his Account of some of the most remarkable of the Laws of *Moses*, referring himself, as he does several times, to a fuller Description, which he promis'd to publish by itself. So that where he omits, or speaks very shortly of any of the *Mosaic* Institutions, he seems to have a right to an Excuse, since we are to suppose that those things so past over were purposely reserved to another time: And yet, notwithstanding that, there is one Branch of those Laws which he passes over so very slightly, and that without any Reference to what he should afterwards say concerning it, that I cannot but think it was slubber'd over so on purpose: That is, the Laws concerning the Observation of the Sabbath; of

^c Ὁ Θεὸς Μωϋσῇ τὴν ἱστορίαν Ἀαρῶνι τὰ δὲ ἰδιώτῃ προσέταξε δίδου, αἰσιν ἀπάντων δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ τιμῆς δικαιοσύνην τυχεῖν. Ibid. pag. 196.

^d Notatur in Cod. Busb. ἀφελείπεις, ἰώσῃπτι, καὶ μοχοποιῖαν αἰδοῖ τὴν προγονίων. Bernard. in Not. ad Josephum. pag. 160.

which,

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which, as some of the *Jews* have reckon'd them, there are *thirteen* in the Pentateuch. And yet, when *Josephus* gives an Account of the giving of the *Manna* in the Wilderness of *Sin*, when the *Sabbath* was first expressly enjoined to the *Israelites* after their coming out of *Aegypt*, and its Observation ratify'd by a constant weekly Miracle, which continued till the *Manna* was quite taken away, which it was not till after *Moses's* Death, he says not *one single Syllable* of that Miracle, which was as remarkable an Occurrence as any one in that whole Affair, nor of the *Sabbath*, which was then enjoined. For it was truly an amazing thing, that every *Friday* the *Israelites* should have a *double Portion* for that Day, and for *Saturday*, and yet that every other Day of the Week they should find but a *single one*. I shall give the whole Passage at Length in the Margin, that the Reader may, without consulting of *Josephus*, see his Conduct in that Affair. He will see that our Historian had the *xvith* Chapter of *Exodus* before him when he wrote this Account, and consequently that this Omission of this Sabbatic Miracle could not arise from Ignorance or Forgetfulness^e. Afterwards he spends

ε' Ευθυς ὃ μὲν τ' πρώτῳ ἀφορμῶν τ' τροφῆς καὶ δόλῳ αὐτοῖς
 κατέπιπτεν ὁ θεὸς· ἀνιχοίθη δὲ Μωϋσῆος τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ ταῖς
 σύχαις, ὁρῶσθ' κατήνεχθη· ἔπειτα ἡνιόχευε τὰς χεῖρας, Μωϋσῆς ὑπο-
 νησας καὶ ταύτῃ εἰς τροφὴν ἔκειν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰς θεῶν, γὰρ εἶπεν αὐτῷ,
 ἥσυχος εἶ παλαιοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ νομίζοιτο νόστος καὶ τ' ὥρως εἶναι·
 ὑστερὶς τὸ γυμῶμαι ἀντιδιδασκεῖν, ἔπειτα τ' ἐκείνῳ κατέληψεν ἀπ' ἑσθῆς
 καὶ φέρεσθαι τ' ὁρῶσθ', ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ὡς εἶπεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀφελῶς· καὶ
 γὰρ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, παρῶν παλαιῶν· οἱ δὲ μὲν μὲν τ' τροφῆς καὶ
 δόλῳ καὶ βρώματι· μέλλει δὲ καὶ τῷ γλυκύνῃ καὶ τ' ἡδονῇ ἐπι-
 ρεῖς· ὅμοιοι δὲ τῇ τ' ἀρμύρῃ βδέλλῃ· τὸ δὲ μέισθ' αὐτῶν πολεμῶν
 παρῶν καὶ τῷ καὶ τ' ὡς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὡς εἶπεν αὐτῷ· παρῶν καὶ
 ὡς εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὡς εἶπεν αὐτῷ, τῷ δὲ εἰς μέτρον, εἰς ἐκείνῃ ἡμερᾷ συλ-
 λήγειν· ὡς καὶ ἐπιλήψοιτο αὐτοῖς ὡς βρώματι, ἵνα καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώ-
 ποις ἅπασιν τὸ λαμβάνειν δι' ἀλλήλων τ' ὡς εἶπεν αὐτῷ πλεονεκτῶν καὶ
 τ' ἀνθρώποις· οἱ μὲν τοὶ παλαιοὶ τ' πρὸς ἀλλήλους μέτρον ὡς εἶπεν αὐ-
 τοῖς,

spends a whole Chapter ^f upon the solemn Feasts of the *Jews*, of which the Sabbath was undoubtedly the first and chiefest. And yet all that he says of the Sabbath is, that there were additional Sacrifices constantly offer'd upon that Day, besides those that were offer'd in the daily Service: Tho' at the same time he is very particular in his Accounts of the Passover, the Feast of Tabernacles, the Feast of Weeks, the great Expiation, and the Shew-Bread.

This is very extraordinary Management in a *Jewish* Historian, who is to give the *Gentile* World an Idea of the Laws and Customs of his Countrey; but it is easily accounted for from what I have said already. The Observation of the Sabbath by the *Jews* was a constant Topic of Heathen Raillery. *Perfius* and *Juvenal* were both contemporary with *Josephus*. The *Recutita Sabbata* of the one ^g, and the *Basket and Hay* of the other ^h, shew that the *Jewish* Sabbaths were usual Subjects of *Roman* Mirth. *Josephus* then might naturally think, that the less he said of the Sabbath the better; whereas if he had been as particular in his History of that Law, as he was of many of the rest, he might (at least he seemed to fear so) only expose those Institutions which he proposed to extol. He chose therefore to represent the Transactions in the Wilderness of *Sin* lamely, by cutting off one of the notablest Particulars in that whole Narrative, and to comprehend what he had to say of the

τες, ἔδεν πλείονα εἶχον ἢ κακοπαῆσαι· ἀσάραν· ἡ δὲ πλείον
 εὐρακον· ἡ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντι· εἰς τὴν ἐκίπσαν, ἔδ' ἦτις ἡ, διαφθα-
 ρμὴς ὑπὲρ τῆς Γραμμῆς ὁ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τὸ βρῶμα καὶ παρὰ
 δοξον· & rursum. τῇ δὲ τρεφῇ ταύτῃ τισιναρμένω ἔτιον ἐχρίσθη,
 εἰς ὅσον χρόνοι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ. Jos. Antiqq. iii. 1. §. 7. edit.
 Bernardi.

^f Antiqq. Jud. iii. 10.

^g Perf. v. 184.

^h Juvenal. iii. 15. vi. 541.

PREFACE.

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Sabbath in his Chapter of *solemn Feasts* in two Lines, rather than enlarge upon so unpopular a Subject.

Antiqq. III. 11. §. 5. He describes the Trial of the Woman suspected of Adultery by the Waters of Jealousy. One of the Ceremonies to be observed during that Inquisition was, that the Curses just before pronounced by the Priest upon the accused Woman, in case she were found guilty, were to be written by the Priest in a Book, and the Writing to be blotted out with the bitter Waterⁱ. These Ceremonies are set down with great Nicety in the *Misna*^k, pursuant and conformably enough to the Text of *Moses*, where the Priest is directed to write these Curses in a Book. Now *Josephus* says the Priest writ nothing but the Name of the LORD, and that that Name was afterwards blotted out^l. Herein he plainly contradicts the Text; for the Imprecations are expressly commanded to be written as well as the Name of the LORD, in whose Name they were pronounced. Here then, I hope it will not be deny'd but the Authority of the *Misna* ought to outweigh that of *Josephus*. And it is worth observing, that *Josephus* says the Name of the LORD was written διφθέρα; (on a plain piece of coarse Parchment) whereas the Doctors say the Curse must not be written upon a *Dipthera*, (for they have made Hebrew of that Word) but on a Roll, *Megilah*, because the Text says they must be written in a Book^m.

One would think that this good Priest was a Convert to Heathenism, when he says that the Table, upon which the Shew-Bread was set every Sabbath-

ⁱ Numb. v. 19—27.

^k Sota. iii. 3.

^l Ἐπιγράφει τὸ θεῶν τὴν προσφοράν διφθέρα — τὴν διφθέραν ἀπαλείφας τὸ νόμα. *Jos. Antiqq. Jud. iii. 11. §. 5.*

^m Sota. ii. 4.

Day, was like those in the Temple of *Delphi*^a. I know it may be justly said that this was only intended for an Illustration; that the *Greeks*, in whole Language, and for whose Use he wrote his *Antiquities*, might be thoroughly apprized of the Form of that Table. And were there nothing else to be found fault with in his Writings, it would look like Moroseness to take notice of so small a thing. But when one considers the Abhorrence which the *Jews* of that Age had for every thing that was Idolatrous, it looks very strange that a *Jewish* Priest of the most high God should liken so considerable an Utensil of the Tabernacle and Temple-Service to those Stools, or Tables, on which *Apollo's* Priests at *Delphi* sat when they gave out their Oracles.

One of the most flagrant Assertions of *Josephus*, wherein he contradicts the *Scriptures*, the *Apocryphal Writers*, and the *Talmudists* to a Man, is his affirming, that the *Urim and Thummim* continued under the second Temple till about 200 Years before his own Time^o. We find that *Nehemiah* made a Decree concerning some Sacerdotal Families that could not prove their Genealogies, whom he removed from the Priesthood, *that they should not eat of the most holy Things till there stood up a Priest with URIM and THUMMIM* P. Now Inspiration was not lost in *Nehemiah's* Time: But that Inspiration which *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* had was not sufficient, in their Opinions, to decide that Question. And if there was no *Urim and Thummim* in his Days, we may positively assert there was none afterwards. The *Maccabees*, who restored the Worship of God after the Pollu-

^a Ἐν δὲ τῷ νεῷ τράπεζαν ἰδεύει, δελφικαῖς ἀρχαίαιαν. Antiqq. Jud. iii. 6. §. 6 p. 167.

^o Ἐπαύσατο μὲν ὁ τε ἱερεὺς, ὃς ὁ Καρδόνος ἔλαμπεν ἔτι τοὺς ἀποστόλους πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερὶ τῷ γὰρ. Antiqq. Jud. iii. 8. §. 9.

P Nehem. vii. 65.

tion of the Temple by *Antiochus*, complained of their want of Prophecy. They could not tell at one time what to do with the Stones of the Altar that had been polluted by the *Greeks*, because there was no Prophet; so they laid them up in a private Place, which is mention'd in Title *Middoth*^a, which confirms the Truth of the *Maccabaic* Historian. And another time they wanted a Prophet to inform them who should be their chief Governour; and therefore they made *Simon* their Governour and High Priest for ever, *i. e.* they made those Offices hereditary in his Family, till a Prophet should arise and decide the Matter. I quote the Passages at length elsewhere; so I need not repeat them here^r. Now if they had the *Urim* and *Thummim*, what they wanted to know in these two Particulars might easily have been determin'd. The *Misna* is explicit that the *Urim* and *Thummim* ceased with the former Prophets, *i. e.* with those who lived when *Solomon's* Temple was destroy'd^s. And the *Gemarists* of both Schools, that of *Jerusalem*, and that of *Babylonia*, confirm the same thing.

I cannot therefore, without some Astonishment, see so very learned a Man as *Dr. Bernard* unquestionably was, take such Pains to prove that the five things which the *Talmudists* say were wanting in the second Temple (of which the *Urim* and *Thummim* was one) were all there as well as in the first, and to stand by *Josephus* against such a Cloud of Witnesses^t. And when the Authority of the *Talmudists* is urged against him, he gravely tells us, that what they say is affirm-

^a Middoth, 6.

^r Vide infra vol. 1. pagg. 55, 56.

^s Sota ix. 12.

^t Sola manet Josepho sacerdoti meritaque Fides. Vir enim iste prae nobilis, ut erat sacrorum rituum suaeque pariter Originis studiosissimus Indagator, oraculi hujus exitum ignorare haud potuit. Ed. Bernardi nott. in Josephum. pag. 209. b.

ed gratis, and with Talmudic Faith^u, and concludes his very long (I had like to have said tedious) Discourse with this Aphorism; *So rare and difficult a thing it is to read the Talmudists and not to dote*^w. The *Gemarists* may dote, and very frequently do: But this most learned Man has very small reason to charge them with *Dotage* upon this occasion, when he gives credit to that stupid Fable of the liquid Fire which *Nehemiah* took out of the Cave, which kindled by the heat of the Sun, when it was poured on the Wood that was laid upon the Altar; which, if it were true, would demonstrate that the *Noctiluca* is not so recent an Invention as Mr. *Boyle* makes it. This is seriously told in the second Book of *Maccabees*, and inserted into a Letter which the *Sanhedrin* of *Jerusalem* are there said to have written to their Brethren in *Aegypt*^x.

There are two other remarkable things in which the *Misna* is contradicted by *Josephus*, which have occasioned great Disputes among learned Men, whilst some have stood by the *Talmudists*, and others have defended *Josephus*. These are both mentioned in the ivth Book of his *Antiquities*, where he gives us a short Abstract of those *Mosaic* Laws which were of a publick Nature, and where he professes to add nothing

^u Attamen gratis haec dicuntur, & fide Talmudicâ. *id. ibid.* pag. 209. a.

^w Ardua res est & rara, quod vides, à lectione Rabbinorum non delirare. *ibid.* pag. 210. b.

^x 2 Maccab. i. 19—22. Upon which Dr. Bernard makes this Observation, “ Quocirca Ignem *εγγονεσιν* non defuisse prorsus “ novo Holocaustum Altari, quia pridem defossum Jeremiâ Auctore docent adeo Commentaria ipsius *Δαριεσσα*, quae “ vel Hebraicè aliquando legerat Ecclesia Nazarena, & ab his “ S. Hieron. ad Matth. c. 27. Hunc denique ex liquido, mirum “ factu, excitâsse Nehemiam focoque sacro reddidisse, satis “ probant literae senatûs Solymitani ad Aristobulum, — quarum “ Auctoritas opus omne Talmudicum annis multis superat.” *Ibid.* p. 209. a.

P R E F A C E.

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of his own, but faithfully to represent every thing as *Moses* deliver'd it ^y.

The first is of the Number of Judges whom *Moses* appointed in every City. The Number is not fixed in *Deut. xvi.* All that *Moses* says is this, *Judges and Officers shalt thou make thee in all thy Gates which the LORD thy God giveth thee throughout thy Tribes: and they shall judge the People with just Judgment. Deut. xvi. 18.* The Number seems hereby to be purpose-ly left by God to the discretion of future Ages. *Josephus* says they were by *Moses's* appointment to be seven, in every City, and that they had Officers under them, who were to be of the Tribe of *Levi*; which shews that he had this Law now quoted in his view ^z. And it is certain that *Josephus* intended to assign that very Number, because we find it in the old *Latin* Version which *Dr. Bernard* ascribes to *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, and is commonly attributed to *Ruffinus* ^a. But then this Number which he repeats again in another place ^b, contradicts the Account which the *Misnic Doctors* give us of this matter, wherein they are unanimously follow'd by their whole Nation since the *Misna* was written. They mention three Benches of Magistrates to try Causes, and no more. The great

^y Βύλομαι ὃ τ' πολίταις πρότερον εἰπών, τὸ τι Μωϋσείως ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ ἀναλογῆσαι, ἢ μαθεῖν παρ' ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτῆς τοῖς ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ἀρχαῖς, οἷα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀρχῶν ἐν ᾧ, ὅπως ἐπὶ τ' τ' ἄλλων τρυφῶν διήγησιν· γέγραπ' ὃ πᾶσι ὡς ἐκείνῳ κατέλιπε· ἔδεν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ καλῶπις μὲν προδένειν, ἔδ' ὅτι μὴ κατέλειπε Μωϋσῆς. *Antiqq. iv. 8. §. 4. pag. 285.*

^z Ἀρχεῖσθαι ὃ καθ' ἐκείνῳ πόλιν ἄνδρες ἐπ' αὐτῶν, οἱ ἔ' ἀρετῶν καὶ τ' ἀρετῶν τὸ δίκαιον σωθῆναι προσηκουότες. Ἐκαστὸν δ' ἀρχῆν δύο ἄνδρες ὑπερέ' διδόνθαι ἐν τ' τ' ἀδελφῶν φυλῆς. *Antiqq. Jud. iv. 8, §. 14.*

^a Principes autem sint in unaquaque Civitate Viri Septem, qui & Virtute, & Justitiae studio sint exempti; unicuique verò Principatui duo viri Ministri praebeantur ex Tribu Levitarum. *Ibid.*

^b Ἀφ' ὧν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνῳ τ' ὅτι. *Ibid. §. 38.*

Sanbedrin, which consisted of LXX Persons, who sat in *Jerusalem* till a little before the Destruction of the second Temple, when the *Masters* tell us it was removed to *Jabne*. The second was the Council of XXIII, who sat in the larger City's, and had Power of Life and Death. The third was the Council of III, which sat in the lesser Towns, and determined pecuniary Causes, and Matters of smaller Moment. A Council of VII they nowhere mention. Mr. *Selden*, whose subject led him to consider this matter^c, professes that he cannot in the least guess what should lead *Josephus* to assign this Number, and observes that the *Officers* or *Shoterim* (as *Moses* calls them) are not required to be of the *Tribe of Levi* in the Law, so that he does not scruple to accuse *Moses* in this particular of Prevarication.

Dr. *Bernard* thinks it a most foolish thing for any Man to imagine that *Josephus* was mistaken^d, and therefore takes a great deal of pains to reconcile him with the *Talmudists*. For my part I cannot possibly see what Interest the *Misnic Doctors* could have in misrepresenting this matter, the Truth of which, let it lie where it would, they certainly knew as well as *Josephus*; and it is past dispute that *Moses* does not say what *Josephus* puts into his Mouth.

The other is his Account of the *Jewish Tithes*. He plainly affirms that the *Poor's Tithe*, which was gathered every third Year, was over and above the second Tithe which was carry'd to *Jerusalem* either in

^c Certè quidnam in Causâ fuerit cur *Josephus* aut Septenarium, hîc Numerum, aut illud de Tribus Leviticæ Ministris sic adjecerit, nondum ariolari quivi. Sed in Legum sacrarum ejus Enumeratiohe non pauca sunt alia & TEXTUI SACRO, & Talmudicæ Disciplinæ HAUD PARUM DISSONA. *Selden de Synedr. Vett. Ebraeor. lib. ii. cap. vi. §. 4. pag. 265.*

^d *Seldenus* noster falsi Flaviûm criminari contentus: ubi STULTISSIMUM esset eum Archaeologum numerum verum notumque haud posuisse. *Bernard. not. in Josephum. pag. 291.*

Money or in Specie^e; whereas the *Talmudists* positively say that there was no second Tithe gathered every third Year, distinct from the *Poor's Tithe*, but that then what would otherwise have been spent at *Jerusalem* was consumed at home. But this I have spoken to at large already^f. By the *Talmudic Scheme* (which is the lowest) the Proprietor had but 4779 *Epha's* out of 6000. And since the *second Tithe* was to be spent at *Jerusalem* two Years in three, it seems very agreeable to the goodness of God, that one Year in three the *Levite* and the *Poor* that were at home should partake of that Joy, and eat that Tithe in their own Gates, which in the other Years was consumed at *Jerusalem*. And to have a *third Tithe* super-added to the *Truma*, and to the two former Tithes, seems to have been so great a discouragement to the Husbandman, who must thereby have lost almost a third part of the neat produce of his Ground and labour, that he would not easily have endured it. And that the Text of the *Mosaic Law* is reconcilable with the *Talmudic Scheme* is most certain.

These are some of the Instances that may be produced, in which *Josephus* stands by himself, in the Account which he gives the *Gentile World* of the *Mosaic Law*. I shall add no more, because these are sufficient to my Purpose; and the Bounds of a Preface, which is but too large already, will not allow me to enlarge any farther.

Now upon the whole, tho' I cannot enter into the wild Notions of *F. Hardouin*, who in his *Prolusio de Nummis Herodiadum* treats *Josephus* as an Impostor,

^e τῶν δὲ ΔΕΚΑΤΑΙΣ ΔΥΣΙΝ ὥς ἔτις ἐκάστῃ προῖπον τελεῖν, ἢ μὲν τοῖς Λαοῖταις, ἢ δ' ἐτέροις πρὸς τὰς δώχιας. Τρίτῳ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΑΙΣ, ἢ τὸ ἔτις τελεῖν (συμφέρειν εἰς ἀγαθήνησιν ἢ ἀναζήτων, γυναιζὶτε χρήσις, ἢ παισὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς. *Antiqq. Jud.* iv. 8. §. 22. pag. 298.

^f Vide intra vol. i. pagg. 115—118.

who did not live above 500 Years ago; yet I cannot think him a Writer of that Weight, as to be set against the whole Stream of the Jewish Nation, especially in Matters, wherein, if there are Mistakes, they must be wilful ones. He wrote to Strangers, they to their own Countreymen. He might have some Design in his Concealments; they could have none. They expected their *Messiah still to come*, and were willing to have an entire Collection of their *Traditions and CUSTOMS* & preserved; that so, when they should be again restored to the full Possession of their Countrey, and the liberty of living according to their ancient Laws, they might not be in any Particulars at a loss. This then would naturally lead them

to

& I cannot omit here to illustrate two Passages in the Acts of the Apostles relating to St. Paul, which have been overlooked by the Interpreters whom I have consulted. When St. Paul returned to Jerusalem out of Asia, Acts xxi. 20, 21. and determined to go up to the Temple at the Feast, James and the Elders to whom this Apostle of the Gentiles had given an Account of the Success with which God had blest his Ministry, said, Thou seest, Brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the Law. And they are informed of thee that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to forsake Moses, saying, that they ought not to circumcise their Children, neither to walk after the Customs. And accordingly they persuaded him to purify himself with four Nazarites, whose Vow was then expired, that they might shave their Heads, as he had done before at Cenchrea for the same reason, (Acts xviii. 18.) that so the Jews both Christian Converts, and others might see that he walked orderly, and kept the Law (v. 24.) And again (Acts xxviii. 17.) when he called the chief of the Jews that were at Rome together, he told them that he had committed nothing against the People or Customs of their Fathers. Now CUSTOMS in both these places signify those Usages that were not commanded in the WRITTEN LAW, (and in the former Passage are expressly opposed to it; tho' they were unanimously observed by the Jews at that time. These the Jewish Converts adhered to till the Destruction of the second Temple. And of these, intermixed with those that were properly Pharisaical Innovations, which the Sham-maeans never allow'd, very many are to be found in the

Misna.

to record every thing of that sort as punctually and as exactly as they could; and instead of Temptations to Prevarication, they had all possible Inducements to be sincere. I am the more confirmed in my Opinion upon consulting my most learned Friend Dr. *Wilkins* (to whom the Publick are so much oblig'd for his late Edition of the *Coptic Gospels*) upon this very Question, to which with great Humanity he gave me this most judicious Answer. "As for the Question you were pleased to propose to me, whether in Points relating to the *Mosaic Law*, one should believe the *Talmudists* or *Josephus*? You know very well how *Josephus* contradicts the Chronology of the Old Testament, and how he relates Stories, which we find no where else. But the *Talmudists*, tho' they sometimes explain the *Mosaic Law* contrary to the Intention of the inspired Writer, by mollifying Punishments and Precepts, and by magnifying Rewards and Promises, yet they never MISREPRESENT the ORIGINAL, either by supplying other Words, or by adulterating the Text, which they keep RELIGIOUSLY SACRED. But wherever both of them contradict the express Letter of the Law, I would still have more regard for the *Misnic Writer* than for *Josephus*, because the different Explication of the former tends perhaps towards establishing another probable Reason found in some other Place in the Scripture, and not express'd in the Text, of which he then treats:

Misna. Every CUSTOM was not bad, nor was every TRADITION unlawful. Where they were not, the Christians that were at Jerusalem, who were ZEALOUS of the LAW, strictly obey'd them, that they might not give offence to those that were yet unconverted, though they expressly excused the Gentiles from those Observances, and taught them how to assert and vindicate their Christian Liberty. And this we see St. Paul glory'd in, when he made an Apology for himself to the Elders of the Jews that were at Rome.

" But

“ But in *Josephus* you often find him introduce No-
 “ velties unheard of, and not like to gain any body’s
 “ Belief, except where the Antiquity of a *Jewish*
 “ Writer, that has writ so well in favour of Chri-
 “ stianity, has prejudic’d the Reader.” So far this
 excellent Person, in whose Determination I entirely
 acquiesce.

It is not however difficult to assign the Reason
 why the generality of learned Men have paid so very
 great a Regard to *Josephus*, even to the Prejudice of
 the whole *Jewish* Nation besides. *Josephus* writ in
 Greek, a Language common at that Time to all learn-
 ed Men that were, and that were not Christians. And
 his kind Character of *John the Baptist*, which is very
 probably genuine, and what is said of *Jesus Christ*
 in his *Antiquities*, (which, if it be not genuine, is
 certainly a very ancient Interpolation) which is not
 contradicted in any other place in his whole Wri-
 tings, made the Primitive Christians very fond of him.
 The *Jews* after *Hadrian*’s Time were entirely separated
 from their Brethren, who had embraced Christianity
 before; and what they wrote afterwards, till the *Sa-
 racenic* Empire had introduc’d the *Arabic* Language
 among them, was either in *Hebrew* or *Chaldee*, which
 Tongues they seem studiously to have affected, that
 their Separation from the Christians might be the
 more entire. And then *Josephus*’s magnificent Boast-
 ings of himself, with which he concludes his *Anti-
 quities*, and his Account of his own high Blood in
 his

ἡ Λέω ὅτι θάρσυνος ἦδη ἂν τὴν προσηλὴν συνίλειαν, ὅτι μη-
 δεὶς ἂν ἔτιρε ἡδυνήθη θιλήσας, μήτε Ἰουδαῖοι, μήτε Ἀποφυλάτοι,
 τὴν προσηλὴν ταύτην ἔως ἀκρίβως εἰς Ἑλλήνας ἐξενέχων ἰγὰ
 ὅδ’ ἀμολογούμεν ὅδ’ ὁμοειδῶν πλεῖστον αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ΕΠΙΧΩΡΙ-
 ΟΝ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΝ ἀφάρειν, ὅτι Ἑλλήνων τὴν γρημμάτιον ἱσχυράσας
 μετὰ καὶ, τὴν γρημμάτιον ἱμνηεῖαν ἀνάλαν, τὴν δὲ πρὸς
 προφορῶν ἀκρίβειαν, πάντες ἐκάλαντε συνίλειαν. παρὲς ἡμῖν ὅδ’ ἂν
 ἐκείνης ἀποδέχοντες τὰς πολλῶν ἐθνῶν ἀγέλειον ἐκμαθόντας, ἂν τὴν καί-
 νον

his *History of himself* went a great way to gain Belief from those who could not immediately disprove him. He is certainly an Author very justly to be valu'd, notwithstanding all his Faults. His *History of the Jewish War* is a noble Demonstration of the Truth of the Christian Religion, by shewing in the most lively manner how the Prophecies of our blessed Lord concerning the Destruction of *Jerusalem* were literally fulfilled in their fullest Extent. And his *History of the Jewish Nation* from the Time of the *Maccabees* (especially from the Time where the *first* of the Books so called, which we have among the Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament, ends) would have been very lamely preserved without him. But my Objections to his Authority are of another Nature, and do not concern that part of his Work in the least.

But it is time to have done. I shall sum up what I have said in few Words. The *Misna* is the authentic Code of the Traditions of the *Jews* who lived in *Jesus Christ's* Time. Those very Traditions (or at least others of a parallel Nature) which we find hinted at in the New Testament, are all to be found at Length in that Collection, besides innumerable others. An imprudent blending of the *Misnic* Text with the impertinent and fabulous, and ridiculous Glosses of the Doctors of both the Schools, but chiefly of the *Babylonian*, has with Men otherwise very learned and very judicious, but who were in a great measure unacquainted with these things, hurt the Authority of the *Misnic* Text

ὅτι ἐῖναι νομίζειν τὸ ἐπιπόδμα, τῷτο μόνον, ἐκ ἐλδοθέρων τοῖς τυχαῖ-
 σιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ οἰκιστῶν θείῳ, μόνον ὃ σοφίαν μαρτυρεῖ, τοῖς τὰ
 νόμῳ (αὐτῶν) ἐπιστῶν, καὶ τῷ ἱερῶν γεγραμμένῳ δυνάμει ἐμμέν-
 εῖναι δυνάμει. Antiqq. Jud. xx. 9. pagg. 702. 703. edit. Ge-
 neven. I set down this Citation at length, because the latter part
 will go very far to confute H. Vossius's Notions of the failure of
 the Hebrew Language at this time, even from the Testimony of his
 own beloved Josephus.

it self; whilst the respective Ages and Characters of the Writers, from whom Citations have been produced, have not been sufficiently distinguished. However, the Authority of those great Men in these two last Ages, who have not only despised this part of Learning, but have bestowed great Labour in adorning it, may justly vindicate it from that Scorn and Neglect with which it has been unjustly treated. *Joseph Scaliger* may very well be set against *Is. Vossius*. In truth there is no Comparison between them; tho' no Man, who is a competent Judge of what he has written, will despise either the Parts or the Erudition of the latter. Now *Joseph Scaliger* took great Pains to understand these Things; and by doing so, shew'd that he put a just Value upon them. *Selden*, *Sheringham*, *Pocock*, (and even *Dr. Lightfoot*, how contemptuously soever *Dr. Vossius* may have thought fit to use him) who were all our Countrey-men, (not to mention those now alive among us) were by no means weak Men; and yet these Men spent much Time, and to very considerable Purpose in *Talmudic Disquisitions*. And *Mr. Guise*, if he had lived, would have done as great things as any of them. *Holland* and *Germany*, *Switzerland* and *France*, have produced very eminent Men in this way. They would not have spent so much Time in these Enquiries, which to us Christians were so long attended with almost insuperable Difficulties, if they could not have given a better Account of their Time than barely wasting it upon an idle Amusement.

I have therefore this to comfort me at all Events, that I have followed many Men every way more considerable than my self, who have not been ashamed to spend many Years in these Things; and then what will justify them will excuse me.



March 15, 1717.

POSTSCRIPT.



SINCE the committing this *Work* to the Press, I receiv'd the following Letter: It comes from my most learned Friend the Reverend Mr. Ockley, Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. I was willing to know his Opinion of my Performance. His Skill in all the Parts of Eastern Learning the World is sufficiently apprized of, and there was no Temptation that could offer it self to him to induce him to flatter me. I sent him therefore the following Discourses as soon as they were printed off; he did me the Favour to send me this Answer, with leave to publish it, if it came time enough. I ow'd it both to my self and to my Bookseller, who ventured without any manner of Assistance from abroad, to print so great a *Work*, to communicate to my Readers the Judgment of so very considerable a Man; and this at least I am sure to gain by it, that the candid Reader will judge those Arguments to be by no means despicable; in which so able a Man professes himself to acquiesce.

Reverend Sir,

I Had express'd the Satisfaction I receiv'd in the perusal of your Book long before, but I have of late been quite indisposed to all manner of Business. I cannot sufficiently commend your Design, and tho' you must not expect a Multitude of Readers upon such a Subject; yet, which is much more preferable, you cannot fail of the Approbation of those few that are competent Judges: By which Expression I do not understand those only who are skilled in Hebrew; but

*

include

P O S T S C R I P T.

include those other Gentlemen whose Studies or Profession lead them to the Consideration of the Nature of Laws in general.

We are obliged to you, for having evinced beyond all Contradiction that *Hebrew* Learning is necessary for us *Christians*. If I had ever had an opportunity, I wou'd most certainly have gone thro' the *New Testament* under a *Jew*. Whatsoever some of our Gentlemen may think, this I am well assur'd of, that they understand it infinitely better than we do. They are thoroughly acquainted with all the Forms of Speech, and all the Allusions, which (because they occur but rarely) are obscure to us, tho' in common use, and very familiar among them; as has been admirably demonstrated by the learned *Surenhusius* in his *Reconciliator*.

I remember I have read in *F. Simon* (I believe it is in his *Appendix* to his *Leo Modena*) that he once offered the *Epistle to the Hebrews* in *Hebrew* to a learned *Rabbi* at *Paris*; who after he had perused it, without taking any manner of notice of the difference in Religion, said, that whosoever was the Author of that Book, he was a great *Mekubbal* (i. e. *Cabbalist*) and thoroughly versed in all the Traditions of the *Jewish* Nation.

The Argument drawn from the Novelty of the *Jewish* Writings against the usefulness of their Learning, deserves rather to be pity'd than confuted. We do not make use of the Opinions of modern *Rabbi's*, nor their uncertain Conjectures for the Confirmation of any Thing. But when we find Expressions and Allusions exactly the same with those in the *New Testament*; several Petitions in the Lord's Prayer, and some of our Lord's Parables in the *Talmud*: Are we to suppose that they came thither by Chance; or which is most ridiculous, that the *Jews* borrow'd them from the *Christians*; or rather, which is the only true way of accounting for them, that they were in familiar Use among the *Jews* in our Blessed Saviour's Time?

POSTSCRIPT.

Morinus was by much the most able Adversary that ever wrote against the *Antiquity* of the *Jewish Learning* and *Traditions*. But I must needs confess, that his *Arguments* against the *Antiquity* of the *Misna* are far from being of weight with me. The Passages you produce out of *St. Jerome* prove plainly that he could mean nothing but the *Misnaioth* by *Ἀλεγώρεως* and whosoever considers with what studious Industry, the *Jewish* Nation hath always, and doth still conceal its most abstruse and mystical Learning from the *Christians*, will not wonder much at the silence of other Authors concerning it.

It will not be always easy, I confess, to determine which is an *ancient Constitution*, and which a *Decision of the Doctors*: But your Design being to prove that the *Body of those Traditions* collected by *R. Juda* in the *Misna*, are in the main the same with those in Use in our Saviour's Time, I am so far from doubting the Truth of it, that I shou'd wonder what any Man meant that should question it.

The *Misna* is undoubtedly a very venerable piece of Antiquity; collected with great Judgment, and digested with utmost exactness by that great and learned *Rabbi, Judah*. A Person, than whom none since the destruction of the Temple, that we know of, had greater Advantages both of Wisdom, Learning, Riches, and Interest to furnish him with all the Materials necessary for the compleating so great a Work.

I hope, Sir, what you have here given us of it will meet with such a Reception at the Hands of the Learned and the Curious as will encourage you to oblige us with something more of the same or the like kind. At present I am not in a Capacity to make those Remarks and Strictures which you desire of me. Wherefore committing you and your Labours to the Blessing of the Almighty, I rest,

Sir, your most obliged humble Servant,

Cambridge,
March 9, 1718.

SIMON OCKLEY.

CORRIGENDA.

PREFACE.

Pag. iii. l. 12. r. *three Meals.* p. viii. l. 8. from bottom, after *Christians* add *the Discouragements which our Forefathers lay under in their endeavours to understand it, are in a great measure removed. We can now judge for our selves, and we, &c.* p. xviii. l. 12. r. *Now Vossius.* p. xix. l. 5. r. *their Master.* p. xxiii. l. 4. r. *after that.* p. xxvii. l. 4. r. *why should.* p. xxxiii. l. ult. for 67. r. 6, 7. p. xxxvi. l. 14. r. *MS. Josephus.* p. xxxviii. marg. l. 2. after *and* add *synais.* p. xl. l. 14. r. *Priestesses.* p. xli. marg. l. 1. r. *Middoth.* l. 6. p. xlii. marg. l. 7. r. *quin pridem.* p. xlii. l. 15. r. *accuse Josephus.* p. xlix. l. 9. r. *the History.* p. l. lin. 5. r. *not only not.*

BOOK.

Pag. 6. l. 22. r. *Gulielmus Vorstius.* *ibid.* l. 28. r. *Yad, concerning the Gifts of the Poor, and the Laws of the Profelytes of Righteousness, and the Gate some time ago.* p. 40. marg. r. p. 10, 11. p. 55. marg. l. ult. r. *Red Sea.* p. 57. marg. l. 1. r. p. 15. and p. 15. p. 58. l. 20. for *R. Judah* r. *the Author.* p. 60. l. 2. r. *Wood, for Instance.* *If.* *ibid.* r. *Kenem and Kenam for Kenem, and Kenam several times.* p. 62. marg. l. 2. r. *Nedarim.* p. 64. l. 1. r. *it can.* p. 68. l. 17. for *Spit* r. *Pin.* p. 69. marg. for p. 9. r. p. 14. p. 78. l. 19. after *Pharisee*, add *but without Ground;* p. 80. l. 11. after *Emperor* add *Septimius Severus, or his Son.* *ibid.* l. 19. after *besides* add *whose Authority has been ever question'd.* p. 87. l. 22. r. *Men that either.* *ibid.* l. 23. r. *or that he found at Jerusalem, we may, &c.* p. 90. the whole Paragraph from *by the by* in l. 10. to upon *Josephus* l. 4. from bot. may be struck out, it being proved at large in the Preface. p. 92. marg. l. 16. dele *Halal signifies to be mad.* and add *"Chalal signifies to profane. S. Jerome seems to have thought that Hillel's Name was written with a Cheth, whereas it is written with a He. Then the Quibble appears plain."* *ly.* And to that he here alludes, &c. p. 94. l. 15. r. *agrees well enough.* p. 100. l. 33. r. *Ptolemy.* p. 101. l. 6. after *made* add *little or no.* p. 105. marg. l. 3. r. *חלל* p. 109. l. 12. r. *have generally speaking faithfully.* p. 118. l. 29. r. *Kavaites, which last have been.* p. 122. l. 24. r. *Garden-Beds.* p. 125. l. 13. after *Associations* dele. p. 126. l. 20. r. *Lev. xvi.* p. 144. l. 15. r. *besides the Determinations.* p. 151. l. 29. r. *offence there.* p. 158. marg. l. 8. after *and Bath* add *Meilah.* v. 4. p. 172. l. 30. r. *set them as part of their daily Devotions;* p. 173. l. 17. for *Pharisee* r. *Lawyer.* p. 175. l. 6. from bot. for *much* r. *at all.* p. 176. l. 9. r. *are most of them superstitious.* p. 195. l. 2. from bot. r. *Eyes, the Jews.* p. 196. l. 7. r. *the Use of Phylacteries.* p. 201. l. 4. r. *that this.* p. 203. l. penult. r. *God towards them might.* p. 209. l. 26. r. *out of Aegypt.* *ibid.* l. 27. for *which they underwent in Aegypt* r. *which they had endured in that Countrey.* p. 215. l. 4, 5. for 17. r. *fifteen Days inclusive.* p. 218. l. 13. r. *should.* p. 227. l. penult. after *of the People* close the Parenthesis. p. 233. l. 2. after *House* put, p. 250. l. 13. after *Ages* add *"The Truth is, this Psalm had its Name from the use to which it was put in the Temple Service, where it was regularly sung every Sabbath Day at the offering of the Morning-sacrifice. But let the Age"* p. 269. l. 12. r. 15th. p. 291. marg. l. 4. r. *Tebel.* p. 293. l. 5. *Paradisiacal.* p. 294. the Citation out of the *Acts* should come in after the Note upon the Texts out of *S. John.* p. 299. l. 14. r. *prolepically.* *ibid.* l. 5. from bot. for *certainly* r. *probably.* p. 301. l. 10. r. *Argument since.* *ibid.* l. 5. from bot. r. *After their March from Elim indeed.* p. 303. l. 4. from bot. r. *as it were.* p. 304. l. 10. from bot. r. *in the.*

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A
DISCOURSE
Concerning the
NATURE, AUTHORITY, and USEFULNESS
OF THE
M I S N A,
Or B O D Y of the
Traditional Laws of the JEWS.

C H A P. I.
*Of Christian Writers who have publish'd and
commented upon any Titles of the Traditio-
nal Laws of the Jews.*



IT may seem very wonderful, since the
Constitutions and Traditions of the El-
ders are so often appeal'd to, and so of-
ten, as well as so justly blamed by our
blessed Saviour in his Discourses with
the *Jews*, which are preserv'd to us in the Writings
of the Evangelists, that the generality of learned
Men who have appeared in such Numbers since the

B Resto-

Restoration of Letters, have known so little of them, as it is plain by their Writings that they did. For tho' here and there an inquisitive Man among the Christians had look'd into those Writings of the *Jews*, in which these Traditions have carefully been preserv'd; yet their Number has been very small, and for want of Translations of the Original Books themselves, to which other Men might appeal, what these Men said had not its due Weight. Learning had been propagated in *Europe* for above 150 Years, and the great Writers among the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, both Christian and Pagan printed, and most of the *Grecian* Authors translated into Latin, which is the common Language of the Learned in these Parts of the World, before any one ritual Title of the old genuine Traditions of the *Jews* had been publish'd among us. *Paulus Fagius* indeed, soon after the Reformation, set forth the *Pirke Avoth*, in which we have a concise History of the Propagation of Tradition among the *Jews*, with some few Apophthegms of the first Doctors from whom they reckon their Traditions. But then that Title had little *Ritual* in it; so that wherein the Traditions of the Elders consisted was not much better known. In the Year 1629, *Johannes Cocceius* of *Bremen*, printed two *Misnic* Titles *Sanbedrin* and *Maccoth*, in *Hebrew* and *Latin* at *Amsterdam*, which contain an authentic Account of the *Jewish* Courts of Justice, and of their Method of animadverting upon Offenders, with judicious Notes, and large and valuable *Excerpta* out of the *Babylonian Gemara* (which is properly what we call the *Talmud*) upon those two Titles. *Constantin L'Empereur* printed the Title *Mid-doth*, in which we have the Dimensions of the Temple and all its Parts in 1630; and the Title *Babz Kama*, which treats of Damages done by Beasts, and Fire, and Pits, and Things of the like Nature, specify'd in *Exodus* xxi, in 1637. He had finish'd several

several other Titles for the Press, but whether they were ever printed I know not. *L' Empereur* was admirably well vers'd in the Jewish Learning, and by his great Skill in the Civil Law, with which (tho' he did not profess it) he was well acquainted, he was enabled to compare the Decisions of the *Talmudists* with the Constitutions of the *Roman* Law-givers as he has done throughout that whole Title. Besides this, he publish'd a Jewish Tract call'd *Halicoth Olam*, in which the Ways of Reasoning of these Masters are accurately explain'd; and which, well understood, are what they promise to be, a Key to those Studies.

Mr. *Robert Sheringham*, Fellow of *Gaius College* in *Cambridge*, and a very great Honour to that University in his Time, printed the Title *Joma*, or of the great Expiation, in *Hebrew* and *Latin*, with a learned Commentary, at *London* in 1648, when he was ejected for his Loyalty, for which he was long an Exile abroad. Some Years after *Dr. Pocock*, who was truly an Honour to his Age and Countrey, printed several of *Maimonides's* Prefaces to his Commentaries upon the *Misna* ^a in *Arabic* and *Latin*, under the Title of *Porta Mosis* at *Oxford* in 1655; in which, as the Title promises, a Gate is opened to the understanding of the whole Traditional Law of the *Jews*. After him Mr. *William Guise*, late Fellow of *All-Souls College* in *Oxford*, (who to the inestimable Loss of the whole Eastern Learning, was taken off in the Flower of his Years) attempted to translate the whole *Misna* into *Latin*, but he finish'd only the six first Titles of the *Seder Zeraim*, which were printed after his Death at *Oxford* in 1690, by the late learned

^a To the *Seder Zeraim*, or first Order of the *Misna*. To the *Perek Chelek*, i. e. the tenth Chapter of the Title *Sanhedrin*. To the *Pirke Avoth*. To the *Seder Kodashim*, or Order of consecrated Things. To the *Seder Tahoroth*, or Order of Purifications. To the Title *Menacoth*; or of Meat Offerings.

Savilian Professor of Astronomy in that University, Dr. *Edward Bernard*. Some few Titles more have been printed abroad within these last forty Years, among which the most considerable is Title *Sotah*, (or of the Woman accused of Adultery, who was to be try'd by the Waters of Jealousy) by *Johannes Christophorus Wagenfeilius*; to which he has added a noble Commentary, in which he has taught his Christian Readers abundance of Things concerning the Jewish Affairs, very well worth knowing; besides what immediately related to the Title which he undertook to illustrate. He also, as *Cocceius* had done before him, annex'd large *Excerpta* out of the *Gemara* to the Text of the *Misna*. *Sebastianus Schmidius* publish'd the Titles *Shabbath* and *Eruvin* (which the Reader will see here in *English*) with the Commentary's of *Maimonides* and *Bartenora*. *Houtingius* also and *Lundius* have given us the Titles *Rosh Hashbana*, (i. e. of the Feast of Trumpets, or the Beginning of the Year) and *Taanith* (i. e. of the Jewish Fasts) which they have illustrated with large and useful Commentaries.

All this did not contain a full third part of the *Misna*; and all this while the Original Text of the *Pharisaic* Law was unknown to most Men. Mr. *Selden* indeed, who was a great Master of the whole *Talmudic* Learning, had given us just Discourses upon many different Subjects, in which he largely and fully explained the Opinions of these ancient Doctors upon those Heads which he treats of^b. And Dr. *Lightfoot*, a Man no ways his Inferior in that Sort of Knowledge, had apply'd it with great Advantage to the Illustration of the Biblical Text, and thereby

^b *History of Tribes. Uxor Ebraica. De successione in Pontificatum. De successione in bona Defuncti. De Anno Civili Veterum Judæorum. De Jure Naturali & Gentium secundum Disciplinam Ebræorum. De Synedriis.*

cleared abundance of Things in the New Testament, which were before unknown to the learnedest Interpreters of the Scriptures among the Christians.

At last *Gulielmus Surenhusius*, now Professor of Hebrew and Greek in what they call the *Schola Illustris* at *Amsterdam*, undertook to give us the *Misna* entire in Hebrew and Latin, with the Commentaries of *Maimonides* and *Bartenora* at large upon the whole Work. This he publish'd at *Amsterdam* in six Folio's, of which the first Volume was printed in 1698, and the last in 1703. So lately is it that that Book which the most considerable part of the Jewish Nation esteems as the authentic Text of their Oral Law, as it has done for near 1600 Years past, has been entirely communicated to the Christian World. The greatness of the Undertaking deterr'd other Men, which makes our Obligation to him so much the greater.

The Jews indeed have had for several Ages, full and plain Institutions of the whole Oral Law among them, written in a clear intelligible Style. The chiefest of these is the *Tadbachazaca* (i. e. the strong band) of *Maimonides*; in which in an easy and methodical Manner, and in a clear Style, he has given his Countreymen an ample Account of the whole Talmudic Law. This has been printed several times among the Jews, and has been from the time of its first Publication valued by them as it justly deserves. And yet it is not much above 100 Years since its true Value has been much known to the learned Men among us. *Petrus Cuneus* was one of the first that discover'd its great Usefulness, in his incomparable little Book of the *Commonwealth of the Jews*. *Joseph Scaliger*, before him, knew the worth of that great Man, and of his *More Nevochim*, which he commends according to its Merit in several places of his Epistles, but that Book is not ritual: however *Joseph Scaliger* did not stop there; he had read the

Misna carefully, as appears from many places of his Writings; but he publish'd nothing upon these Subjects. He, however it was, who whilst he lived in *Holland*, where he spent his latter Years, inspired the young Men of that Nation with a Love of the Eastern Learning, by shewing them its intrinsick worth; so that in Truth we owe to his Example and Authority in a great measure, all those noble Performances by which *Cunæus*, *L'Empereur*, *De Dieu*, *Erpenius* (who died early) and after him *Golijs*, and many others of that Age and Countrey acquir'd so just a Reputation to themselves, and were so useful to those that came after them; and yet very few Titles of that great Work of *Maimonides's* were publish'd in Latin till our Father's Memory. *Dionysius*, Son to the great *Gerard John Vossius*, translated the Title of *Idolatry* which is printed with his Father's great work, of *the Original and Progress of Idolatry*, with a very useful Commentary. *Georgius Gentius* publish'd his *Hilcoth Deüth*, or *Moral Precepts in Hebrew and Latin at Amsterdam in 1640*; *Johannes Vorstius* also translated his *Foundations of the Law*, but neither that nor any other of his Versions of *Hebrew Books*, of which we have several, are much esteem'd by the learned. The excellent Dean of *Norwich* Dr. *Prideaux*, to whom this Generation are not a little oblig'd for his *Connexion of the History of the Old and New Testament*, publish'd two Titles out of *Maimonides's Yad* of the *Laws concerning the Poor and Stranger*, and the *Gifts of the Poor* some time ago; and the learned and worthy Professor of the *Hebrew Language at Oxford* Dr. *Robert Gla-vering*, has lately given us two other Titles of *the Study of the Law*, and of *Repentance*, in *Hebrew and Latin* with very useful Notes; all which for the curiosity of the Matter, and the easiness of the Style, are very proper to be put into the Hands of young Beginners.

But

But in all these Titles there is little Ritual, so that tho' these Pieces have their just and true Value; yet they do not much contribute towards understanding the Traditions of the Elders, of which we have an entire System in that admirable Work. About forty Years ago Monsieur Colbert, that great Patron of Letters under the late King of France, employed Monsieur *Lewis de Veil* a Convert Jew, who was Master of a beautiful Latin Style, to turn the whole *Tad* into Latin. He printed some few Titles out of it in Latin, especially concerning the *Temple Service*, and the *Method of Intercalations* of the Jewish Year at *Paris*, when turning Protestant he came into *England* about the Year 1680, where he went on with that Work, and publish'd the *Titles of Sacrifices* in the Year 1683 at *London*, with *Abarbinel's* Preface to his *Commentaries upon Leviticus*. It is pity that he did not find Encouragement to go on with his Design, for tho' (as I have heard some very great Judges in those Matters complain) he too often suffers his Latinity to get the better of his Hebrew; yet that Work, if he had gone thro' with it, would have been a noble and a pleasant Introduction to those who would willingly know these Things at an easy rate, and are often disgusted at the uncouthness and barbarity of the Style of most Writers upon these Subjects^c: And lately *Andreas Christophorus Zellerus* has printed his *Title of the Red Heifer* at *Amsterdam* in 1711. But all this and what else, has been publish'd by Christians out of those *Pandects* is very little in Comparison of the whole Work. And, after all, if we had it entire in *Latin* or *En-*

^c " Dedit nobis eadem Anglia Prooemium Commentariorum
 " Abarbinelis in Leviticum, quod Latinum fecit Ludovicus
 " Compeigne de Veil, qui multos Tractatus è Maimonidis
 " Pandectis Judaicis Latine dedit; & si puritatem Latini Sermo-
 " nis spectemus, omnibus Interpretibus palmam præripuit.
 " *Relandi Prolegomen. in Analect. Rabbin.*

glish, yet it wants a great deal of the Authority of the *Misna* itself, especially in contested Cases.

For we ought to consider that *Maimonides* lived in the Twelfth Century several Ages after the *Talmud* was sealed up (which it was upon the finishing of the *Babylonian Gemara*) after the great Schools which the *Jews* kept for many Ages in *Babylonia* were destroy'd by the *Saracenic Caliphs*. The *Jews* were then dispers'd into *Europe*; and in *Spain*, in *France*, and *England*, they made numerous Settlements. At *Corduba* in *Spain*, *Maimonides* was born; there he began to compose his first great Work, which was his *Commentaries upon the Misna*, which he wrote in *Arabic*, the Language of the *Morisco's* and *Arabs*, among whom he had his Education. It was afterwards turn'd into *Hebrew*, and Dr. *Pocock* has given us a History of that Version in his Preface to the *Porta Mosfis*. From that Version it is now publish'd in Latin by *Surenhusius*. That Commentary is drawn from the *Gemara's* and the other ancientest Ritual Authors among the *Jews*. But still whatsoever Praise he may and does deserve, as an exact, intelligible and judicious Interpreter, who has cleared the whole Body of those Traditional Laws from the vast Load of impertinent and fabulous Stuff with, and under which it had so long lain mixt and oppress'd, he can be consider'd only as an Interpreter. Nothing that he says can be appealed to as a Record, when any essential Doubts arise.

The Case is the same with him, (who ought to be placed in the Front of the *Talmudic Commentators* and *Systematical Men*,) and *Solomon Jarchi* and *Bartenora*, when the meaning of any Decision is enquir'd after, as it is with *Stapleton*, *Bellarmin*, or *Du Perron*, or any eminent Polemical Divines among the Papists. They are readily allow'd by their own side to be good and useful Writers upon any Question that is controverted between us and the Church of *Rome*. But if any Man of that Communion should in the Heat of Disputation

Jewish Traditions.

9

putation be prest with the Authority of any of these Authors, by one of our Writers, who may judge that what they say is to his purpose; such a Man would instantly reply these were but single Doctors, they might err, and they very often do. We are not bound to stand to their Decisions. What says the *Council of Trent*? What says the *Catechismus ad Parochos*? is there any such thing in our *establish'd Liturgies*? So here, if a Question should arise relating to any material Constitution, either concerning its Sense or its Validity, no learned Jew will be determin'd by what *Maimonides*, or what *Solomon Far-chi* says, if it should seem to contradict the Text of the *Misna*; and much more if it cannot be reconcil'd to the settled Explications of the Text in the *Gemara's*, especially that of *Babylon* which is of the greatest Authority. And now that the value of this Body of Laws, out of which I have printed two entire Titles, may be the better known by those of my Readers who are unacquainted with these Things (for as for others, if any such shall think it worth their while to look into these Papers, I do not pretend to teach them, but shall be very well contented if they shall think that I have not committed any great mistakes,) I shall say something concerning the *Nature* and *Authority* of these *Misnic Laws*, and the *Uses* that may be made of them by a Christian, either him that has any Commerce with *Jews*, or him that only desires to be thoroughly skill'd in the Doctrine of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, as it is deliver'd to us in the New Testament.



CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the NATURE of the MISNA.

THE Nature of the *Misna*, which is the true Text of the *Pharisaical* Traditions mentioned in the New Testament, is well described by *Maimonides* in his *Preface to the Order of Seeds*; which is the first of the *six Orders* into which the whole *Misnaioth* are divided^d; out of him therefore I shall here describe it.

He tells us then, “ That all the Laws which were given by God to *Moses*, were given him with an Interpretation; so as that the authentic Text was first dictated to him, and then its Interpretation. “ This Text was put into Writing, and the Explication was committed to Memory: Thence the wise Men called one the *Written Law*, and the other the *Oral Law*. And thus *Joshua*, *Eleazar*, *Ithamar* and the Elders received every one of the 613 *Precepts*, (as they are reckon’d by the *Talmudists*) each one with its several Explication^e. Before *Moses* died, he perfectly instructed *Joshua* and the Elders in these Explications; and according to them, *Joshua* and the Elders gave Sentence^g. Now whatsoever HE or THEY receiv’d THUS from *Moses*, was received without any Controversy

^d This Book is usually called by the Jews *Misnaioth* i. e. Secondary Laws in the Plural Number; and every Constitution or Halakah which composes an entire Paragraph, is called *Misna* or one secondary Law in the singular. The whole Body too is often called *Misna* in the singular, and by Christians almost universally (i. e. the second Law.) In compliance with that Custom, I have in my Annotations usually called a particular Halakah, *Misna*, as well as the whole Body of the *Hilcoth*.

^e *Maimon. Prefat. in Seder Zeraim Edit. Oxon. 1690. pag. 1.*

^f *Pag. 1, 2.*

^g *Pag. 2, 3.*

The Nature of the Misna.

II

“ or Disagreement; but if there was any *Branch* as
 “ they call’d them, or *Secondary Law* which was to
 “ be collected by way of Implication from the *Pri-*
 “ *mary ones* (i. e. from the Original 613,) by any of
 “ the thirteen Rules which they pretend to have
 “ been given *Moses* upon *Mount Sinai**, then in Case
 “ of difference of Opinion (which frequently hap-
 “ pened) they were oblig’d to follow the Majority;
 “ but if there was no Difference, the Decision pass’d
 “ uncontested^h.

“ In this Case we are told, that what *Joshua* and
 “ *Phineas* thus collected from their thirteen Rules,
 “ in order to the explaining of the Meaning of any
 “ Law, was not done by the *Spirit of Prophecy*, but
 “ they took the same Method which *Rabina* and
 “ *Rab Ashe* (the two great *Gemarie* Doctors) took
 “ afterwards.” The meaning of this is plain; here-
 by they would fasten the same Authority to their
 latest, as to their most ancient Traditions. For
 tho’ “ they allow any of the Prophets a Power to
 “ suspend any Law for a particular Timeⁱ, except
 “ in the Case of Idolatry; yet they will not allow
 “ him to have had any Power to abrogate any
 “ Law either written or oral, which was universally
 “ receiv’d^k. As for instance, if he should say that
 “ the *Fruit of new planted Trees* might be eaten the
 “ second Year, or not eaten the fourth Year, that
 “ would be sufficient to destroy his whole Mission;
 “ because the Text of the Law is positive, that

* “ *Dixerunt etiam in Baraita, & allocutus est Dominus*
 “ *Mosen in monte Sinai: Quid sibi vult quod dicit in Monte*
 “ *Sinai? Annon Tora Lex tradita est de Sinai? Verum hoc*
 “ *dictum est, ut tibi indicet, quod sicut Præceptum de Anno*
 “ *Intermissionis cum generalibus, particularibus, & minutiis*
 “ *quæ ad ipsum [spectant] datum sit è Sinai, ita & reliqua*
 “ *Præcepta cum generalibus, particularibus, & minutiis suis*
 “ *data sunt è Sinai. Ibid. pag. 2.*

^h Pag. 3.

ⁱ Pag. 10.

^k Pag. 5.

“ Trees

“ Trees shall be counted as uncircumcised, (*i. e.*
 “ their Fruit is unlawful to be eaten) for the first
 “ three Years, and the fourth Year the Fruit shall
 “ be holy to the Lord; and on the fifth Year it may
 “ be eaten ^l by any Body.” And this which is very
 laudable, when restrain’d to the written Law; they
 extend to a receiv’d Tradition, even where that
 Tradition is *not favoured* as they phrase it by, *i. e.*
 contradicts the written Law itself ^m. “ Thus in
 “ the famous Case *Deut. xxv. 12. Then thou shalt*
 “ *cut off the offending Woman’s Hand, thine Eye*
 “ *shall not pity her.* This they traditionally interpret
 “ of putting such a Woman to open shame; and not
 “ only so, but they say, that if a Prophet should
 “ affirm that this Law ought to be literally under-
 “ stood, he ought to be strangled as a Liar, because
 “ he ascribes that to God which God never said:
 “ Nay, tho’ he should work a Miracle, to confirm
 “ his Interpretation, yet still what he says ought not
 “ to be regarded. And therefore since there is to
 “ be no new Law, and that they were *neither to add*
 “ *to nor diminish from* what they had already ⁿ; and
 “ since these RECEIVED Traditions are supposed
 “ to be Interpretations made by *Moses*, and conse-
 “ quently of equal value with the written Law itself,
 “ a Prophet had no more Authority over the one,
 “ than he had over the other ^o.” So that tho’ in the
Chain of Tradition, as they love to speak, *i. e.* in the
 account of those who from time to time preserv’d it,
 the Prophets were reckon’d; yet their Business as
 Prophets was only to foretel Things to come; or
 to command the People to do, or not to do any par-
 ticular thing concerning which they were in Doubt,
 whether they should have God’s Assistance or not:
 This was chiefly seen in Matters of Peace or War,

^l *Levit. xix. 23, 24, 25.*

^m *Pag. 5.*

ⁿ *Deut. xii. 32.*

^o *Pag. 5.*

but not in giving any new and unheard-of Interpretation of any particular Law; tho' when they had prov'd their Mission, either by Miracles or by an actual Completion of any of their Prophecies, or both, then they might exercise their Authority in suspending any affirmative or negative Precept for a time, to serve a particular End or Purpose, excepting always as before excepted, in the Case of Idolatry ^P.

" Thus for Instance, God commanded that Sacrifices should be offer'd only in the Place which he himself should choose; yet *Elijah* when the *Israelites* had sinned, not only in the Sin of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, but had follow'd after *Baalim* and the Gods of the *Tyrians*, and the other People that were round about them, to convince them that God sent him, caused the Priests of *Baal* to meet him upon *Mount Carmel*, and there offer'd a Bullock, which God accepted by consuming it with Fire from Heaven. But then that was only temporary; and if *Elijah* had thereupon commanded that *stated Sacrifices* should from thence forward be offer'd upon *Mount Carmel* in Derogation to the Temple Worship at *Jerusalem*, he had been liable to the Punishment of Excision as well as any body else ^q: So also when *Elisha* encourag'd *Jehoshaphat* and *Jehoram*, the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel* to fight against *Moab*, he commanded them not only to destroy the fenced Cities, but to fell every good Tree ^r, tho' that was against the Letter of the Law, and consequently not so practis'd at any time in making War, unless it was particularly enjoyn'd by a Prophet ^s.

" Nay farther, if such a Prophet should command all Persons both Men and Women, to kindle Fires on the Sabbath Day, in order to make themselves

^P Pag. 10.

^q *Ibid.*

^r 2 Kings iii. 19.

^s Pag. 10.

" Arms

“ Arms of Defence against their Enemies, or to kill
 “ the Inhabitants of any Place, and plunder it up-
 “ on that Day; those that have received *Moses's*
 “ Law ought to rise up against that Place at that
 “ time, without Delay at this Prophet's command,
 “ and to do all that he should direct without Scruple
 “ and Hesitation, as believing that in all these Acti-
 “ ons in which they thus broke the Sabbatical Laws,
 “ they should obtain a Reward from God, for their
 “ Obedience to the Voice of his Prophets^t: And
 “ yet if this Prophet who should command the Peo-
 “ ple to do these Things on the Sabbath, should
 “ tell them that a Sabbath Days Journey is 2000
 “ Cubits lacking one, or 2001 Cubits, and affirm
 “ that he had this by Revelation, and not by way of
 “ Disquisition or Argumentation, he would be a false
 “ Prophet, and ought to be strangled without any
 “ more ado^v. And thus saith *Maimonides*, ought
 “ we to judge of the Sayings of the Prophets; for
 “ as to Matters of Disquisition and Reasoning, and
 “ Skill in the Law, by which we come to under-
 “ stand the meaning of it, Prophets are upon the
 “ same Level with other wise Men of the same
 “ Rank and Judgment with themselves as to the
 “ Study of the Law, who have not the Gift of Pro-
 “ phesy. So that if a thousand Prophets all equal to
 “ *Elijah*, or *Elisha*, should offer to give an Inter-
 “ pretation of any Law, and 1001 wise Men should
 “ give a sufficient Interpretation which is different
 “ from theirs of the same Law, the Majority ought
 “ to be attended to^w.

“ Thus when *Joshua* died, he transmitted the In-
 “ terpretations of the written Law which he had
 “ from *Moses*, and those which were unanimously
 “ made in his Time, and those which were carry'd
 “ by the Majority wherever there was a Dissension,

^t Pag. 11.^v Pag. 11, 12.^w Pag. 12.

“ to those Elders of whom the Scripture says, *That*
 “ *they over-lived Joshua* ^x, and they to the Prophets,
 “ and they to one another: So that in every Age
 “ Enquiries were made into the Sense of the Law,
 “ and Conclusions drawn from it; and the Men of
 “ every Age made the Determinations of those that
 “ went before them their Foundation, from which
 “ they drew their own Conclusions.

Here they tell us, that there was no Disagree-
 ment about any of the Foundations which they re-
 ceiv'd by Tradition ^z till the Days of the Men of the
 great Synagogue, *i. e.* Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi,
 Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Mordecai, Zorobabel, and
 the others, to the Number of 120, who were the
 leading Men after the Captivity, and who did as the
 Prophets had done before, *i. e.* enquired into the
 Meaning of the Law, drew Consequences from it,
 made Decrees, and appointed Constitutions ^a. *Si-*
meon the Just was the last of these Members of the
 great Synagogue, and the first of the *Misnic Doctors*.
 After him there was a regular Succession, which we
 have in the *Pirke Avoth* down to *R. Juda the Holy*,
 who lived under *Antoninus Pius*, and who set himself
 at last to put all these Traditions into writing, lest
 they should be lost. He then drew up the *Misna*,
 in which there are *Explications* of every Command
 in the *Written Law*, either in Traditions actually re-
 ceiv'd from *Moses*, or in Consequences drawn by
 Reasoning from Premises, in which there was no
 Disagreement; or in Conclusions upon Disputations,
 which were determin'd by the Majority ^b; or in
 Constitutions made by Doctors successively down to
 his Time. Upon these Principles, if you will be-

^x *Josh. xxiv. 31.*

^y *Pag. 12, 13.*

^z “ De fundamentis autem Traditione acceptis nulla fuit

“ Diffensio usque ad Tempus Synagogæ magnæ. *Ibid. pag. 13.*

^a *Ibid.*

^b *Pag. 14.*

16 *The Nature of the Misna.*

lieve the *Gemarists* from whom *Maimonides* takes what he says upon this Argument, was the Body of Traditional Laws (which we call the *Misna*) built, and the Judgments and Ordinances there contain'd may be ranged under these five Heads.

I. “ *Interpretations* suppos'd to have been receiv'd from *Moses*, concerning which there are Hints in the written Law, or such as may be drawn by Reasoning from it; but then they are such as have never been contested, so that when once any Man said concerning any thing of this Nature, *I have received it by Tradition*, the Question was at an end.

II. “ *Determinations* which they call *Constitutions* of *Moses* from Mount Sinai, which have no Proof from any Text to back them, but yet have never been disputed.” These are suppos'd to be of such a Nature that no Hint can possibly be brought from any Text to authorize their Use: So that they are (at least many of them) distinct separate Laws, differing from the written ones only in this, that they were not originally committed to writing, either by *Moses*, or afterwards by any of the Prophets.

Thus when the Law says *Exod. xxi. 24. Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth*, they tell us the Constitution is, that there should be only a pecuniary Mulct^d, when the Law says, *Deut. xxv. 12. Thou shalt cut off her Hand*; the Constitution understands this also of a Fine to be paid in Money^e; when the Law says, *The Daughter of any Priest, if she profane herself by playing the Whore, she profaneth her Father, she shall be burnt with Fire*^f. The Constitution restrains it to marry'd Women^g: When the Law says, that a marry'd Woman that is accused by her Husband,

^c Pag. 17.

^d Pag. 14.

^e *Ibid.*

^f *Levit. xxi. 9.*

^g Pag. 14.

and

and cannot produce the *Tokens of her Virginity* shall be stoned ^h. The *Constitution from Moses* downwards has without any Controversy restrain'd this Law which is thus generally worded, to one actually married, who is manifestly convicted of Fornication after Espousals, and after she had been admonish'd before Witnesses not to keep Company with such a particular Man ⁱ; in these Cases the *Constitution* certainly limits, if not contradicts the Letter of the *written Law*, which is of itself sufficiently intelligible.

But then there are others which the *written Law* says nothing of, nor is it at all against them. As for instance, that *Phylacteries* must be writ upon one sort of Parchment, the *Mezuzah* upon another, and the *Book of the Law* upon Vellum: That *Phylacteries* must be ty'd with Hairs, and sow'd with Thongs; That the *Law* must be writ with Ink, and upon Lines drawn on purpose: That if a Field be sow'd with Wheat of two sorts, without any Division between the *Area's*, one *Corner* only is to be left for the Poor; but if there is a Division between the Grounds on which these two sorts of Wheat are sow'd, then there must be two Corners left: That the Children of *Ammon* and *Moab* were to pay the *Poor's Tithe* every seventh Year ^k, with many more of the like nature.

III. " *Opinions* form'd upon the several ways of Reasoning before mention'd, which were controverted at first, and afterwards determin'd by the Majority. These are properly in Cases where the Nature of the Things themselves is obscure, and where there is no Tradition. There are many Questions in the *Talmud* of this sort, and there they ask, *What is it that they dispute about? What is R. N's Reason? What is the Cause of their Dissension? The Shammæans say so, but the Hillelæans so.* It is not to be supposed that these great

^h Deut. xxii. 21.

ⁱ Pag. 14.

^k Pag. 16, 17.

“ Masters were mistaken, or had forgot the Tradition, that would be a *sad thing indeed*¹. The Foundations are still the same, but one drew his Conclusions from one sort of Arguments, and another from another^m; and besides, this never happen’d, but in Matters of small Consequence.

IV. “ *Decrees made by Prophets and wise Men in several Ages to be Hedges and Fences to the Law.*” Such are the eighteen specify’d hereafter in Title *Shabbath*, in which the two Houses of *Hillel* and *Shammai* were agreed. Such also are the Laws of *Mixtures of Courts and Boundaries* in Title *Eruvin*; here sometimes there is a Difference, *i. e.* some are universally receiv’d, some only in particular Places. As for instance, since the Law forbids *the seething of a Kid in his Mother’s Milk*, some Doctors forbid the eating the Flesh of a Bird with Milk; tho’ it is certain that the Law forbid only the Flesh of a Beast to be eaten with the Milk thereof; and this they did to keep Men at a greater distance from Transgression: But then this Prohibition was not general, for *R. Jose the Galilean* allow’d his Countreymen to eat the Flesh of Birds along with Milk, and that Allowance was generally taken in that Countrey. When such a Constitution as this pass’d without Contradiction, it became a standing Law, and we are told that even the Prophets themselves could not make it void: Thence came that Saying among the *Gemarists*, that *Elijah* himself could not abolish any of those eighteen Constitutions in which the *Shammæans* and *Hilleléans* were agreed, for which they gave this Reason, that the Prohibition of those things which are there forbidden, was known all over *Israel*.

V. ⁿ “ *Constitutions made in Conformity to, and Similitude of, human Laws, in which they do not*

¹ Hoc (novit Deus) dictu turpe, & valdè absurdum est. *Pag.* 18. *init.*

^m *Pag.* 17, 18.

ⁿ *Pag.* 19.

“ pretend

“pretend to add any thing to, or to take from, the Law itself.” Of this sort there are very many in the *Misna* and the *Talmud*, some concerning Things prohibited and allowed; some concerning Money Matters; some Regulations made by *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Ezra*. Thus for the purpose, we are told, that *Moses* commanded the *Israelites* to ask and enquire about the Paschal Rites during the time of the Passover; and order’d whatsoever related to Food, when the *Manna* first came down. To this as well as the former Head, the Laws of *Sabbatic Mixtures* may be referr’d, which are ascrib’d by the *Talmudists* to King *Solomon*. Hither they refer the famous Constitution of *Hillel the Elder*, which is called *Prosbul*, of which hereafter. And when *Rabban Gamaliel the Elder*, or *Ribbi Johanan the Son of Zaccai* are said to have done so and so, or that it was decreed in *Ufa*, or that the wise Men decreed; or the Constitution is with such a one; these things do for the most part come under this Head^o.

Of these five sorts of Determinations the whole *Traditional Law* both in the *Misna* and *Talmud* consists. And *R. Juda* who compiled the *Misna*, took particular Care to specify the Divisions upon any Head that came before him, and to take notice of the Opponents when there were any, that he might stop the Mouths of Posterity, which might otherwise have been scandaliz’d at him for asserting dogmatically in controverted Cases, when they should afterwards find that any of those Things did not pass without Opposition; especially if (what often happen’d) the Decisions of one Man who was found to reason more exactly than the rest, were receiv’d against the Multitude, *i. e.* that they receded from their former Opinion, and gave into his P.

It is observable that in this whole Work, *R. Juda* quotes no Opinions of any Persons that lived before *Simeon the Just*; his Style is extremely concise, which makes what he says often liable to Variety of Interpretations; for tho' he certainly understood himself, yet what he says is very often scarce intelligible to those that came after him. One of his Disciples therefore *R. Chajah* writ a Book, in which following the Steps of his Master, he explain'd what he thought difficult in the *Misna*; this he called *Tosfitha*, or the *Addition*, in which he propos'd to illustrate the *Misna*, and to answer such Questions as could not be cleared by the *Misna* itself without Labour; all which he did in such a manner, as may teach us how to draw the like Inferences ourselves, upon Occasion. *R. Ushaiab* also did the same; and *Rab* compos'd the *Barajetha*, i. e. the Books called *Sifra* and *Sifre*; and so did several others. The *Barajethoth*, or *Exotic Traditions*, come short of the *Misna* for Elegancy of Style, Gravity of Matter, and Brevity of Speech. The *Misna* therefore is the Foundation of all these, and they are *Appendices* to it; that therefore is the most highly magnify'd, when any of the other Books of Traditions are compar'd with it ⁹.

After these *Tannaim*, or *Misnic Doctors*, rose another Sect, commonly call'd *Amoraim*, who made it their Business to understand the Text of the *Misna*, and for several Generations together incessantly disputed about its Sense, and made Interpretations accordingly, every Man according to the Measure of his Knowledge and Understanding: These Men in Process of time, divided into several Opinions concerning several of its Decrees. The *Misna* still was the Text upon which every one of their Colleges founded their Disquisitions; from thence they drew their Conclusions; and they search'd into its Mysteries till the

⁹ Pag. 31, 32.

The Nature of the Misna. 21

Days of *Rabina* and *R. Ashe*, who were the last of these *Talmudic Doctors* ^r.

In their Time, which is supposed to have been about the beginning of the Sixth Century, the Traditions and Opinions of this second Race of Masters being grown to a vast Bulk, and very liable to be lost, *R. Ashe* undertook to make a Collection of them; and he did the same, with their Opinions and Determinations that *R. Juda Hakkadosh* did, with the Traditions and Decisions of those that had been before him from *Moses* (or rather from *Simeon the Just*) down to his own Time. In this Collection, which is commonly call'd the *Babylonian Gemara*, or *Talmud*, he propos'd to do these four Things ^s.

I. To explain the *Misna*, and to set down the different Senses of the Text where it would bear them, and the words would favour such different Senses; together with the Arguments of every Doctor by which he defended his own Opinion, and a Declaration at last where the Truth lay ^t.

II. To give Sentence upon every controverted Case, either concerning a particular Text, or its Meaning, or the Consequences which were drawn from it, or lean upon it ^u.

III. To produce the Decrees and Conclusions which had been made by these Doctors from time to time, since the publishing of the *Misna*, and the Foundations they went upon, with the Arguments they used to prove them ^v.

IV. To bring mystical Explications of such Things as agreed with the Sense of every Chapter that was to be illustrated; these (says *Maimonides*) ought not to be slighted as mean or useless, but ought to be exceedingly valued for the rare *Ænigma's*, and wonderful Elegancies which they contain: For these Explications, if they be narrowly look'd into, will [many of

^r *Psalm*. 32.

^s *Ibid.*

^t *Ibid.*

^u *Ibid.*

^v *Ibid.*

them] be found to be simply good, and such as, to which nothing can be added; and then those divine Truths upon which the Philosophers and learned Men of all Ages have put so great a Value, will be cleared up. These, says he, if they be viewed according to the literal Sense, will be found to be *foreign to our Understandings, so as nothing can be more^w*; but this they did for wonderful Reasons, of which one was, to whet the Wits of their Scholars; another was to keep these things from Fools, whose Hearts are never enlightned, and who step aside from the Truth thro' the weakness of their Understanding; and lastly, because even their own wise Men often kept their mysterious Discoveries from one another.

The *Jews* who liv'd in *Palestine* found themselves under the same Difficulties, by the Multiplication of their Traditions, as the *Babylonians* did, and long before them; they therefore made Collections of the Decisions and Explications of the *Misna* (which was the common Text to all the *Rabbanist Jews* throughout the World) of which *R. Johanan* was the Compiler; but this wants the Imperinencies, [and consequently] the Authority of the *Babylonish Gemara*: For here *R. Johanan* keeping close to his Argument, which was to collect the Opi-

^w "Cum verò ipsas [Explicationes] juxta illud quod præ se ferunt contemplatus fueris, invenies, quod ab Intellectu, ut nihil magis, alienum sit: hoc autem ob rationes miras fecerunt, quarum una est ut ingenia Discipulorum acuerent; deinde ut stultis, quorum Corda nunquam illuminantur, quique à Veritate sibi proposita ob Indolis suæ defectum divertunt, tenebras offunderent. . . . rursum quoniam sapientum (quibus Pax) alii ab aliis scientiæ mysteria cohibebant."

Pag. 33. It is hard to say that Maimonides did not believe himself; the incredible Pains which he took to make the Talmud intelligible, both in his Commentaries upon the Misna, and in his Yad, clear him from that Suspicion: But it is certain, a more artful and a kinder Excuse could not have been made for those monstrous Fables which are dispersed in the Babylonian Gemara than this which he has made here.

The Nature of the Misna.

23

nions and Determinations of the Masters upon the several Articles of the *Misna*, has little of that hyperbolical and fabulous Stuff, for which the other is so highly valued by the modern *Talmudists*. Besides the *Babylonian Jews*, who were more numerous and more wealthy, being dispers'd by the *Saracenic Caliphs*, were forc'd to fly into *Europe* for shelter, whither they carry'd the *Babylonian Gemara*, to which they had been before accustomed, along with them; and of that Race were the two great and ancient Commentators upon the *Misna*, *Jarchi* and *Maimonides*, whose Steps the later Interpreters have chiefly followed. The *Jerusalem Talmud* explains the five first Orders entire, and the Title *Nidda* of the sixth.

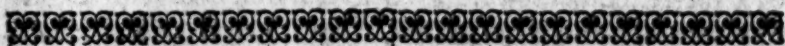
Rab Ashe did not go thro' the whole *Misna*. Of the Order of Seeds we have a *Gemara* upon the Title *Beracoth* only, and none upon the Order of Purifications, except upon the Title *Nidda*, which treats of the Pollutions of Women; several other Titles are likewise omitted in the other Orders*. When *Rab Ashe* had finish'd his Collections, that sort of Interpretations ceased; the *Gaonim*, who were so call'd because they were excellent Doctors in these Matters*, succeeded these *Talmudists* properly so call'd, and continued till their Expulsion out of *Babylonia*; these Men added nothing to the *Talmud* which was now sealed

* Pag. 42.

* Some reckon a distinct Sect between the *Amoraim* and the *Gaonim*, whom they call *Seboraim*, or *Opiners*, Men that asserted nothing, but only gave their Opinions upon any Constitution or Tradition that came in their way. But since *Maimonides* (whom I here profess to follow) says nothing of them, I omit them. When the *Talmud* was once sealed up, the Opinions of no subsequent Doctors went for Law; Men gave their Opinions, as our Lawyers do with us; and from their doing so, they were called *Seboraim*; and if they were excellently learned, they were honoured with the Title of *Gaonim*.

up, nor took any thing away from it; but made it their sole Business to understand and explain what had been said before by their Predecessors^y.

From what is laid down here, which is chiefly taken out of *Maimonides's* Preface to the *Order of Seeds*, which opens the *Misna*, it will not be difficult to comprehend what the *Jews* have to say concerning the Authority of their Traditions.



C H A P. III.

Of the thirteen Ways of Reasoning, by which the Masters draw their Decisions from the Text of the Written Law.

Efore I come to make any Observations upon all this, it will, I believe, be not unacceptable to those of my Readers that are unacquainted with these things, to present them with a Description of the *thirteen Ways of Reasoning*, or *Middoth*, (as they call them) by which these *Masters of Tradition*, have drawn their Conclusions from the Letter of the Law, and from other Texts of the Old Testament. They lay so great a Stress upon them, that they are inserted into their Daily Office, and accordingly printed in their Liturgies, where they are mumbled over with the rest of their Hymns, as the Papists say their Latin Prayers, and tell their Beads; and for the most part, with the

same Advantage ². In the *Seder Tephilloth* which I use, they are inserted among the Hymns (*Zemiroth*) with this Preface, *R. Ishmael says, the Sense of the Law is discover'd by thirteen Ways of Argumentation*; and they contain a System of what may properly be call'd *Talmudic Logic*.

I. *Light and Heavy*: This is what the Logicians call *Argumentum ab impari*. If a lesser thing produces such Effects, how much greater will a greater thing produce? The Instance which the *Talmudists* bring for this out of Scripture, is of *Miriam*, who was struck with Leprosy for murmuring against *Moses*; and when *Moses* interceded that she might be healed, *The Lord said, if her Father had but spit in her Face, should she not be ashamed seven Days? let her be shut out from the Camp seven Days, and after that, let her be received in again.* Numb. xii. 14. If a Father's Rebuke ought to make her ashamed seven Days, how much more ought a Rebuke from God, against whose Disposition she had murmur'd, at least equally to affect her ². This they illustrate by an Instance in Cases of Damage and Trespass, spoken to at large in

ר' ישמעאל אומר בשלש עשרה מדרגות התורה נדרשה: מקל וחומר מגזרה שזה מבנין אב וכתוב אחר מבנין אב ושני כחובים. מכלל ופרש מפרש וכלל כלל ופרש וכלל אי אחת דן אלא כעין הפרש מפרש שהוא צריך לכלל ומכלל שהוא צריך לפרש וכל דבר שהיה בכלל יוצא מן הכלל ללמד לא ללמד על עצמו יצא אלא ללמד על כלל כלו יצא וכל דבר שהיה בכלל יוצא לשען שיען אחר שהוא כענינו יצא להקל ולא להחמיר וכל דבר שהיה בכלל יוצא לשען שיען אחר שלא כענינו יצא להקל ולהחמיר וכל דבר שהיה בכלל יוצא לדון בדבר חדש אי אחת יכול להחזיר לכלל ער שיחזירו הכתוב לכלל בפרש ודבר הלמד מענינו ודבר הלמד מסופו וכן שני כחובים המכחישים זה את זה עד שיבא הכתוב השלישי ויכריע ביניהם:

Seder Tephilloth, Edit. Manass. Ben Israel, Amstel. 1626. fol. 35. b. 36. a. b.

² *Haliceth Olam. p. 116.*

Title

Title *Baba Kama*. If (say they) a Man's Beast breaks into another Man's Ground, and trespasses by eating up his Corn, he shall make Satisfaction; then certainly if his Beast gores another Man's Beast, or a Man, he is more oblig'd so to do: For the *Tooth* designs no Damage, but only to be instrumental to prepare Food for the Stomach, whereas the Horn designs to do Mischiefe^b; this is very subtil. But the Way of Reasoning is certain, and founded upon Nature, and is accordingly taken notice of by the great Masters of Logic^c. The Prophet *Jeremiah* uses this Way of Reasoning twice in *Jer. xii. 5*. *If thou hast run with the Footmen, and they have wearied thee, then how canst thou contend with Horses? And if in the Land of Peace wherein thou trustedst, they wearied thee, then how wilt thou do in the Swelling of Jordan?* Here we ought to observe, that Arguments from *less to greater* affirm; but from *greater to less* deny. Our Saviour uses this last in *Luke xxiii. 31*. *If they do these things in a green Tree, what shall be done in the dry?* If I am taken off who am the *green Tree*, who am innocent, and not upon the account of any contracted Guilt, fit and ripe for Destruction, shall you be spared? shall this sinful City which has killed the Prophets, and stoned them which were sent unto her escape? No, certainly.

II. *Equality, or Agreement of Words*; that is, when two Words are *alike* in Scripture; from the one, Conclusions are drawn to the other: or when they *agree*, Reasonings are form'd from that *Agreement*. Here they tell us, that when two *like* Words occur in the same Verse, they are put together that the one may be determin'd by the other. Thus they interpret that Law in *Deut. xv. 12*. *If thy Brother an Hebrew Man, or an Hebrew Woman be sold unto thee,*

^b *Ibid.*

^c Εἰ τὸ μᾶλλον ὑπάρχειν δοκεῖν, μὴ ὑπάρχει, εἰ δὲ τὸ ἥττον. Εἰ δὲ τὸ ἥττον δοκεῖν ὑπάρχειν ὑπάρχει, καὶ τὸ μᾶλλον. *Aristot. Topic. l. 2. cap. 3. § 5.*

and serve thee six Years; then in the seventh Year thou shalt let him go free from thee. In the Beginning of the Law, an Hebrew Man and an Hebrew Woman are both mention'd. Afterwards to v. 18. the Law speaks only of the Man: Yet because the Woman is specify'd as well as the Man at first, the Woman is intended to enjoy the Privilege of the Law as well as the Man, when she has serv'd out her six Years^d. This is indisputably right.

III. *The Building of the Father*, or as *L'Empereur* renders it, *Constitutio Principii*, is this; when the Scripture reveals and explains any thing in one Place, we are from thence instructed how to understand other Places that are like unto it, because the Law is often concise, and from a Part we must gather the whole. This sort of Argument therefore is call'd *the Building of the Father*, because the *Passage* which teaches is as a *Father*, and the other *Passages* which are taught, i. e. explained by means of that, are as if they came out of his Loins. Thus the Author of the *Halicoth Olam* describes it^e; they make a Difference here when any Conclusion is rais'd from one *Passage* in the Law, and when it is rais'd from two. But still as the Author of the *Halicoth* rightly observes, the *Locus Dialecticus*, or *Middab*, in both Cases is but one; and the only difference is, that in the first Case the Argument is drawn from one Verse of Scripture, and in the second from two. An Instance or two will make this plain, *Exod.* xii. 16. the Law concerning the Feast of unleavened Bread says, *In the first Day there shall be a holy Convocation, and in the seventh Day there shall be a holy Convocation to you; no manner of Work shall be done in them, save that which every Man must eat, that only may be done of you.* From hence they gather, that the same *Prohibition of servile Work* holds in all other Festivals of the same Nature as it does in this. Here

^d *Halic. Olam.* pag. 149.

^e *Ibid.* p. 151, 152.

the *principal Structure* is raised from *one Verse*. But when this *principal Structure* (as *Buxtorf* very properly calls it ^f;) is raised from *two Verses*, then the *first Verse* contains the general Proposition, and in the *second* the Particulars arising from, and contained in that general Proposition are set down. Thus, *Levit. xxi. 17.* whosoever of the Seed of *Aaron* had any Blemish, was commanded not to approach the Altar. The several sorts of Blemishes are specify'd in the following Verses. Again, *Lev. xv. 2.* the Law says, that the Man who hath a running Issue, is upon the score of that Issue, Unclean. In *v. 4.* his *Bed* and his *Seat* are pronounc'd Unclean. There, how far the *Uncleanness* is to reach is particularly declar'd.

IV. *Universal and Particular, or General and Special*; that is, when there is something *general*, and something *special* in the same Passage, the *special* binds the *general*. As for Instance, *Levit. i. 2.* God commands, *If any Man of you bring an Offering unto the Lord, ye shall bring your Offering of the Cattel, even of the Herd, and of the Flock.* *Behemah* which we render *Cattel*, includes according to the *Talmudists* all that we call *Beasts*, wild as well as tame. Therefore that is restrain'd in the next words, *even of the Herd, and of the Flock*, to shew that no *Beasts* must be used in Sacrifice, but *Beeves, Sheep and Goats* &c.

V. *Particular and Universal*; when a word expressing a *Genus* is added to any Number of *Species*, it is added to shew that every possible *Species* that can be included, whether named or not named, ought to be comprehended. As for instance, *Exod. xxii. 9.* when an *Ox*, or an *Ass*, and a *Sheep* are mention'd, and any manner of lost thing is added, from thence the *Talmudists* rightly conclude, that every thing that a Man

^f In *lex. Talmud.* p. 318. v. *Binjan.*

^g *Halic. Olam.* p. 144, 145.

can possibly lose, is design'd herein to be comprehended^h.

VI. *Universal and Particular, and then universal again, where the Determination is made by the Particular.* The *Particular* coming here between two *Universals*, shews that these *Universals* or *Generals* are not to be taken as the words may seem to imply, but ought to be restrain'd by this *particular* which comes between. As thus the Law says concerning the *second Tithe*, which was to be turn'd into Money, and with that Money Provisions to be bought at *Jerusalem*, or the Place which the Lord should choose, and spent there, *Deut. xiv. 26. Thou shalt bestow that Money for whatsoever thy Soul lusteth after, for Oxen, or for Sheep, or for Wine, or for strong Drink, or for whatsoever thy Soul desireth.* The *Species* enumerated here between the two *Genus's*, shew that this Money was to be laid out only upon the Produce of the Land of *Canaan*, which was then and there to be eaten and drunkⁱ.

VII. *Something general, that wants something special; and something special, that wants something general.* The following instances will explain this. *Levit. xvii. 13.* the Law is, that *whatsoever Man there be of the Children of Israel, or of the Strangers that sojourn among you, which hunteth and catcheth any Beast or Fowl that may be eaten, he shall even pour out the Blood thereof, and cover it with Dust.* Cover here, is a general Word; and God uses the same Word, which we render *Hide* in *Gen. xviii. 17. shall I hide, (or cover or conceal) from Abraham that thing which I shall do?* Here the general Word *cover* is restrained, to shew that the Blood must not be put into any sort of Vessel, but must be cover'd, *i. e. mixed* with Dust: The general here wanted a *special*. Again, *Exod. xiii. 2.*

^h Buxtorf. lex. Talm. voce Celal.

ⁱ Hal. Olam. p. 156.

the Lord said, *Sanctify unto me all the first born, whatsoever openeth the Womb, among the Children of Israel, both of Man and Beast, it is mine.* It does not appear by this, whether *Females* were not intended, as well as *Males*. That therefore is determined in *Deut. xv.*

19. *All the Firstling Males that come of thy Herd; and of thy Flock, thou shalt sanctify unto the Lord thy God.* Still there might be a Difficulty in case the *Firstborn* were a *Female*, whether the first *Male* that was born afterwards might be sanctify'd: That Scruple is entirely taken away by *Exod. xxxiv. 19. All that openeth the Matrix is mine.* Here then we have every *Firstborn*; that being too general, is restrained by the special Restriction in *Deuteronomy*, to *Males*. And because this may be too general, tho' it is special with respect to the first, this is again restrained by the second General, *All that openeth the Matrix*^k.

VIII. *When any thing is taught generally, and there is something particular specify'd, that Specification is not for its own sake, but to shew that the general Rule is to be generally understood; this is no more, tho' more intricately express'd, than Exceptio firmat Regulam.* Thus, *Exod. xxxv. 3.* it is said, *Ye shall kindle no Fire throughout your Habitations upon the Sabbath-Day.* This Exception, or rather Specification strengthens the general Command, *In it thou shalt do no manner of Work.* If this so obvious, and generally speaking so necessary a Work be forbidden, how much more all the rest? So *Levit. vii. 20.* *The Soul that eateth of the Flesh of the Sacrifice of Peace-Offerings, having his uncleanness upon him, even that Soul shall be cut off from his People.* This Specification of *Peace-Offerings* is not intended to be restrain'd to them alone, but to shew that whatsoever is eaten that is sacred, must be eaten by those that are clean. Again, *Levit. xx. 27.* the Law says, *A Man also or Woman that hath a familiar Spirit, or that is a*

^k *Ibid.* p. 164, 165.

Wizzard, shall surely be put to death; they shall stone them with Stones. And in *Deut. xviii. 10, 11.* where the *Consulter of familiar Spirits* and the *Wizzard* are joyned with *Witches*, tho' the word *Mecassheph* which we render *Witch*, is suppos'd to comprehend the specify'd sorts of *Dealers with evil Spirits*; yet these also are all reckon'd, to shew that no one sort of Men of that kind should be excluded, but that all and every of them were to be stoned. So also, *Lev. xx. 2.* the Law is express, *Thou shalt say to the Children of Israel, Who-soever he be of the Children of Israel, or of the Strangers that sojourn in Israel, that giveth any of his Seed unto Molech, he shall surely be put to Death, the People of the Land shall stone him with Stones.* The mention here of this particular Species of Idolatrous Worship is not intended to excuse the rest, but rather to confirm the Punishment of Stoning, to which all Idolaters of what sort soever were liable¹.

IX. *When any thing that comes under a general Rule is excepted, to lay a particular Obligation upon that thing, which otherwise would be compriz'd in the general, in this Case, the Exception alleviates, and not aggravates.* This is well explain'd by *Buxtorf*^m, by the Case of the *Man-slayer, Deut. xix. 5.* *When a Man goeth into the Wood with his Neighbour to hew Wood, and his Hand fetcheth a Stroke with the Axe to cut down the Tree, and the Head slippeth from the Helve, and lighteth upon his Neighbour that he die, he shall flee unto one of those Cities and live.* This is an Exception to the general Law, *Exod. xxi. 12.* *He that smiteth a Man so that he die, shall surely be put to death:* Now, if it were not for this Exception, there could be no Distinction as to the Penalty between the Man that killed his Neighbour casually, to whom he bore no Grudge before, and him that smote him thro' prepense Malice. The Exception then here excuses him. This Excep-

¹ Hal. Olam. p. 165. & Buxtorf. v. Celal.

^m Ut supra.

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tion is intrinsically just, and therefore God in Mercy to such unfortunate Men, who without Design, and utterly against their Wills, dipp'd their Hands in their Neighbour's Blood, appointed Cities of Refuge for them to which they might fly, and where they were oblig'd to stay till the High Priest for the time being died. The *Talmudists* give also this following Instance: *Levit. xiii. 46.* it is commanded concerning the Leprous Man, *that he should dwell alone, without the Camp should his Habitation be*; this, were there nothing else, might be thought very severe: Therefore where the Signs were certain, so that there might be hopes of his Recovery, he was only to be *shut up for seven Days*, and that twice successively, *¶. 4, 5.* These Exceptions consequently alleviate ⁿ.

X. *When any thing that comes under a general Rule is excepted, to lay a particular Obligation not agreeing with the Sense of the general Rule, in which Case the Exception both alleviates and aggravates.* As for Instance, in the same Chapter, *Levit. xiii. 3.* when the Hair of the Person suspected is white, he is order'd to be shut up for a Leper; but *¶ 29.* the *Hairs of the Head and Beard* are excepted, lest grey Hairs should be suspected to be Signs of Leprosy; and then the Priest was to see if they were yellowish and thin; for then the Case was different, and it was a *Scall* not a *Leprosy*. Here now there is an *Alleviation*, because *all white Hairs* are not included in the Enquiry, *¶ 3.* And there is an *Aggravation* likewise, because of the new Case ^o. Another Instance of this way of Reasoning from *Exod. xxi. 2.* is produced by *Buxtorf* ^p, and after him by *Dr. Claverius* ^q. There the Law is, *If thou buy a Hebrew Servant, six Years he shall serve; and in the seventh he shall go out free for nothing.* Under *Servant* here, *both Sexes* may be included, because it

ⁿ Hal. Olam. p. 167.

^o Ibid. p. 168.

^p Ubi supra v.

Celal. ^q Nor. in Maimon. de Studio Legis, p. 114.

it is so interpreted by *Moses* himself, *Deut.* xv. 12. but then that general Law in *Deuteronomy* must be restrained as it is here; because when a *Maid-servant* is sold to any Man, *she shall not go out as the Men-servants do*, *Exod.* xxi. 7. for she may have her Freedom before, if she is betrothed either to her Master or to his Son; in which case if they break their Word with her, they are bound to dismiss her immediately. Here then is an *Alleviation*, and there is an *Aggravation* too; the *Alleviation* is, that if she is abused they must let her go: The *Aggravation* consists in this, that the Master or his Son may betroth her to themselves without asking her Consent.

XI. *When there is an exception from a general Rule, in order to determine a new Matter, that new Matter cannot be brought back to its general Rule again, unless it be expressly mentioned in the Text.* As thus *Levit.* xxii. 10—13. "There shall no Stranger eat of the holy Thing, a sojourner of the Priest or an hired Servant shall not eat of the holy Thing; but if the Priest buy any Soul with his Money he shall eat of it, and he that is born in his House, they shall eat of his Meat: If the Priest's Daughter also be married unto a Stranger, she may not eat of an Offering of the holy Things; but if the Priest's Daughter be a Widow or divorced, and have no Child, and is return'd unto her Father's House as in her Youth, she shall eat of her Father's Meat, but there shall no Stranger eat thereof." The Law here is that the Priest, his Servant bought with his Money, and his Child may eat of the holy thing: That is *general*; the Priest's Daughter married to a Stranger, *i. e.* to one that is not of the Sacerdotal Race, is excepted: Now this Exception would have always stood good if she had died a Wife to that Stranger or had Children, or had not return'd to her Father's House; therefore there is a new Law to give her fresh leave to eat of the holy thing which

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she had forfeited by being married to a Stranger; and that is, if she is a Widow or divorced, and has no Child, and returns to her Father's House, then she may eat of the holy thing as she might at first^r. There is another Instance of this Rule given by the *Talmudists*, which is this^s, *Levit. xiv. 12.* the Leper that is to be cleansed is to offer a Trespass-Offering; this *Trespass-Offering* is said in the next Verse to be as a *Sin-Offering*; consequently then the Rites of Offering both ought to be the same: That they might therefore be effectually distinguish'd from each other there are new particulars added to this Sacrifice, which are the putting of its Blood upon the Tip of the right Ear, and the Thumb of the right Hand, and the great Toe of the right Foot of the Person that was to be cleansed.

XII. *Things that teach from the Subject, and things that teach from the End.* This Rule is double; in the first part the Subject is the Context, in which there is something clear, by which we may explain what is obscure. The Case put in the *Halicoth Olam* is very extraordinary^t, *Thou shalt not steal*, says the Law. What is the Punishment? If it be meant of stealing a Man, (which we in *English* commonly call *Kidnapping*) the Punishment is Capital. This says the *Mechilta* (a very ancient Commentary upon *Exodus*) may be gather'd from the thirteen ways of reasoning, by which the Law is explained: For since in the Decalogue, *thou shalt not steal*, is joyned to *thou shalt not commit Adultery*, and *thou shalt do no Murder*, the Punishment of both which is Death by the Law of *Moses*; therefore this sort of stealing, which certainly comes within the Letter of the eighth Commandment, is punished with Death. This is a true *Rabbi-*

^r Buxtorf. *Lex. Talm. v. Celal.*
169. ^t *Ibid.* p. 171.

^s *Halicoth Olam.* p. 168,

the subtlety; one would have thought the easier and the surer way of proving it would have been to have recurred to *Exod. xxi. 16.* where *stealing of Men* is expressly declar'd to be Capital. The *second Part* is of things that teach from the *End*: To this the Author of the *Halicorb* says nothing, as thinking it sufficiently plain. *Schickard*, who was very well skilled in these Matters, thinks ^v that by the *End* here is not meant the *final Cause* of Logicians, but a *leading Clause* at the end of a Law, from which the Sense of that Law is to be determin'd. As thus *Levit. xiv. 34.* God threatens to visit some Houses with Leprosy: The *Talmudists* tell us that *Mud-walls* were exempted from that Plague, because ^v. 45. they are commanded to break down the House, the Stones of it, and the Timber thereof, and all the Mortar of the House. Now say these Doctors, since in the *End* or *Conclusion* of the Laws about leprous Houses, they are required to pull down the House, with the *Stones, Timber, and Mortar* thereof; this shews that no Houses came within that Law, and consequently no Houses were ever visited with Leprosy, but what were made of the Materials there specify'd: Thus *Schickard* interprets this Rule.

Dr. Clavering, on the other hand ^w, thinks *End* here is to be interpreted *logically* for the *final Cause*, and refers to this way of interpreting the Law all those Reasons which *Maimonides* so often gives in his *Moreh Nevuchim* of those Laws which are generally attributed to the sole Will and Pleasure of the Law-giver, without any particular Views to former Usages, to which the Children of *Israel* were at that time accustomed: Such as the Prohibition of wearing Linsey-Woolsey Garments; of sowing two sorts of Grain upon the same Ground; of marring the Corners of the Hair of the Head and Beard; of not grafting Trees

^v *Bechinath Happerushim*, p. 109.

^w *Not. in Maimonid. de*

Studio Legis, p. 115.

of different Species into one another; of not plowing with an Ox and an Ass in the same Team; and several others of the like Nature. These Laws *Maimonides* supposes to have been made in Opposition to the Customs of the Idolatrous Nations whom he calls *Zabii*; and this way of finding out the Reason of these Laws, Dr. *Claverius* refers to in his Explication of his Rule. I have a very just Regard to this learned Gentleman's Judgment and Skill in these Things; and undoubtedly this is a very noble Way of Reasoning, where we have sufficient Premises to come at the Truth; and *Maimonides* got great Reputation by making use of it in his *Moreh*: But yet I can hardly think that this was originally intended by *R. Ishmael*, who either invented, or at least collected these Rules. The Sense *Schickard* applies to this Rule agrees better with the Genius of the *Talmudists*, who affected to find Subtleties where there were none, and with the first part of the Rule itself, as it is explain'd by the Author of the *Halicoth*. And then, as the first part of this Rule refers to the Context, i. e. more especially to something that went before, to which the Law to be explain'd may be fitly joyn'd; so this second part refers more particularly to the Conclusion of that Law which was then to be illustrated.

XIII. *When two Texts contradict one another, and a third comes and weighs them both down.* Thus *Exod.* xix. 20. it is said that the Lord came down upon Mount Sinai; and yet *Exod.* xx. 22. The Lord said unto Moses, Thus thou shalt say unto the Children of Israel, Ye have seen that I have talked with you from Heaven. These two Passages are perfectly reconcil'd by what Moses says to the People of Israel, *Deut.* iv. 36. "Out of Heaven he made thee to hear his Voice; that he might instruct thee; and upon Earth he shewed thee his great Fire, and thou heardst his Words out of the midst of the Fire;" this is certainly just.

* *Halicoth Olam.* p. 171.

The next Instance which the *Talmudists* bring is very ingenious, and I am apt to think equally true. When *David* commanded *Joab* to number the People, he brought in the Number of the Men of *Israel* to be eight hundred thousand Men, that were fit to bear Arms, 2 *Sam.* xxiv. 9. Now in the Account which we have of this same Transaction in 1 *Chron.* xxi. 5. the Number of the Men of *Israel* is said to be eleven hundred thousand Men; here we see is a Difference of three hundred thousand Men, which we cannot well lay upon a Corruption in the *Hebrew* Text, since the Copy which the seventy two Interpreters used has the same Difference; so that the Reading is the same there with that in our *Hebrew* Bibles. Now this Disagreement is solved by the *Talmudists* thus: It appears by 1 *Chron.* xxvii. 1. that every Month there were twenty four thousand Men, who waited in their Turns to do the King's Business. In King *David's* time, every body knows, that they divided their Year into twelve Months as we do; twenty four thousand multiply'd by twelve, makes two hundred eighty eight thousand; that brings the Number equal into twelve thousand, of whom they suppose every Captain to have a thousand for his own Use. Now (say they) these being already engag'd in the King's Service were omitted in one Account, and inserted in the other. Monsieur *Bochart*², a Man above my Commendation, thinks this Solution is right: I know some very considerable Interpreters are of Opinion that there is nothing at all in this, because there is no Foundation for it in Scripture; and therefore they go the shortest way to work, and fancy the Copies in one or both of the Places, but rather that in the *Chronicles* which enlarges the Account, are faulty: But if they are, they have been so a great while, as I have already hinted; for not only the LXXII, but the vulgar La-

¹ *Ibid.* p. 181.

² *Hierozyic. Part. I. lib. II. cap. 37.*

tin agree in the same Numbers. The *Rabbins*, and particularly the *Talmudists* often trifle, but they do not always; yet because they do so too often, learned Men are very apt to run them down at all Adventures: But however, since the most eminent Men among them were Men of admirable Parts, and thoroughly skill'd in the *Biblic Style*, and perpetually busy'd in the same Disquisitions (very few of them before their Commerce with the learned *Arabians*, running into other Parts of Learning, as Scholars among us generally do,) their Interpretations of Texts of Scripture, when they start Notions with which we are unacquainted, are not always to be despis'd; so that we may truly say of them what *Horace* said of the Populace of *Rome* in his own Time,

Interdum Vultus rectum videt; est ubi peccat

These are the Thirteen *Ways of Reasoning* which are so celebrated among the *Rabbins*; their Notion that they are *Halacah le Moscheh missinai*, or a *Constitution* as they call it of *Moses*, which he brought with him from *Mount Sinai*, is certainly a Whim: It served them however for many useful (and I may add, sometimes for Knavish) Purposes, and helped to give a Sanction to many of their forced Interpretations of Scriptural Texts, by which they endeavour'd to support their Traditions. But yet this Logic of theirs is by no means despicable; and there is not one single *mode* of the whole Thirteen, but may sometimes be used to explain Difficulties which frequently occur in the Law of *Moses*.



C H A P. IV.

Of the Authority of the MISNA.

Negative Arguments to prove that there was no Oral Law among the Jews till after the Time of Nehemiah.

 Come now to consider what the real Authority is, of that Body of *Traditional Laws* which the *Rabbanists* call the *Misna*; Christians unanimously reject its Authority wherever it interferes with the *written Law*, which is contained in the four last Books of the *Pentateuch*: Tho' where there is any Interpretation of a particular Law in the remaining Books of the *Old Testament*, it is received by the whole Nation of the *Jews* as of divine Authority, because the whole *Old Testament*, as far as the Jewish and Christian Canon, which to us Protestants is the same, reaches, is believ'd to be written by the Direction of the same Spirit. Nor are the Christians alone in denying the Authority of these Traditions; the ancient *Caraites* and the *Sadducees* rejected them, but the Rejection of these latter is of little weight, since they rejected also the *Article of the Resurrection*, and so were in Truth little other than what we now call *Deists*. The modern *Caraites*, who derive themselves from *Ezra*, as those that reformed their National Worship under *Nehemiah*, and pretend to a greater Antiquity than that of the *Pharisees*^a, and who are very unjustly treated as *Sadducees* by the *Talmudists*, firmly adhere to the Doctrine of of their Forefathers, and utterly disown the Autho-

^a Vide Triglandium de Carais.

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riety of the *Misnic Traditions*: My Business now is to see upon what Grounds they may be, and justly are, deny'd.

I. If *Moses* had left such an *Oral Exposition* of the Laws which he gave the *Israelites* in writing, it is a most astonishing thing that there should be no *Footsteps* of it in the *Pentateuch*; I do not mean *Footsteps* of the *Traditions* themselves, for that would be ridiculous and contradictory to the Essence of an *Oral Law*, but of the Memory that there were such *Traditions*. The whole Book of *Deuteronomy* contains little else but an Exhortation to observe the Law in general, and a Recognition of several particular Laws that had been given before; in which Recognition many things are farther explained than they were in the precedent Books, and many new Laws are also given.

II. Now the giving of any one new Law, in the Book of *Deuteronomy* directly contradicts, and consequently overthrows the whole *Traditionary Scheme*: For these *Tannaim* (as they are called) suppose that the Law was given at once to *Moses* by God, when he was upon *Mount Sinai* for forty Days and forty Nights together: And they suppose likewise, that the Oral Explications which were to be observ'd by Tradition in future Ages were given at the same time*. If so, the Law was then compleat, and sealed up: Then no new Laws promulg'd afterwards tho' by *Moses* himself, could according to their Hypothesis have the same Authority with the first. But yet we find that forty Years after, when *Moses* had brought the People to the Banks of *Jordan*, and had actually settled the Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half Tribe of *Manasseh* in the Kingdoms of *Og* and *Sehon*; he in his dying Exhortations which he committed to writing gave many new Laws, and likewise set down in writing several Explications of former Laws in the Name of

* *Vide supra*, p. 8.

the LORD, which consequently were of equal Authority with any of those Laws that he had given before, and are receiv'd as such by the *Misnic Doctors* unanimously at this very Day.

Now as to the *written Explications* of former Laws, those certainly were extremely needless, if there had been entire *Oral Explications* given of those very Laws before: And if the WHOLE LAW was given before, why were these new ones added? Did *Moses* forget to set down these Laws in writing for forty Years together? That they durst not say; and yet these *new Laws* are full as considerable as the *old ones*. It is worth while here to enumerate some of them. *Deut. xiii.* we have particular Directions concerning the Method which they were to use when any Men or Cities were revolted to Idolatry. *Deut. xiv.* they were commanded to turn the *Second Tithe* into Money, and to carry that Money to the Place which the Lord should choose, and there lay it out upon Meat and Drink, with which they and their Households, especially the *Levites* that dwelt among them, were there to rejoice. *Ibid.* the *Poor's Tithe* was to be eaten at home every third Year; and the *Levites*, the Stranger, the Widow, and the Fatherless were to be invited to eat it with them. *Deut. xvi. 21.* they were forbidden to plant Groves of Trees near the Altar. *Deut. xvii. 8—13.* Priests and Levites were made Determiners together, with Judges appointed on Purpose in Cases of Difficulty which should arise concerning the Law. *Ibid.* they were allow'd to make such a King as the Lord their God should choose; and if they did so, he was to do as is there prescribed. *Deut. xix. 14.* they were forbidden to remove their Neighbour's Landmark, and those that did so, were to be solemnly cursed from *Mount Ebal* (*Deut. xxvii. 17.*) when they were come into the Land of *Canaan*. *Deut. xx. 19.* when they made War and besieged a City, they were forbidden to destroy the Fruit Trees that grew near

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near it. *Deut. xxi.* in Case of *uncertain Murder* the Expiation which the City that was next to the Body of the murder'd Man was to make is describ'd. *Ibid.* we have an Account of the Ceremonies which they were to observe when they married a Captive Woman. *Ibid.* First-born Children by a hated Wife, were not to be disinherited. *Ibid.* there is a Description of the Punishment of stubborn and rebellious Sons. *Ibid.* Persons that were hang'd were to be taken off the Tree before Night; and we find that when *Joshua* hang'd the King of *Ai*, he commanded the Carcase of that Prince to be taken from the Tree when the Sun was set, in Obedience to the Law, *Josb. viii. 29.* *Deut. xxii. 5.* Men and Women are forbidden to wear each others Garments. *Ibid. 6.* the Dam was not to be taken with Eggs, or young ones out of a Bird's Nest. *Ibid. 8.* Battlements were commanded to be built upon the Roofs of Houses. *Ibid. 9.* Vineyards were forbidden to be sown with several sorts of Seeds. *Ibid. 10.* they might not plow with an Ox and an Ass in the same Team. *Deut. xxiii. 24, 25.* those that pass'd thro' Vineyards and standing Corn might gather Grapes and Corn with their Hands and then eat them, but they might not put the Grapes into a Vessel [to carry them away] or put a sickle into the Corn. *Deut. xxv. 3.* when they scourg'd an Offender, they might not exceed forty Stripes. *Ibid. 4.* they were forbidden to muzzle the Ox that treadeth out the Corn.

These and several other *new Laws* were added forty Years after to those which *Moses* gave the People when he came down from the *Mount*: If they were given to him at first, it will be very difficult to assign a Reason why they were not set down along with the rest, especially since many of them are of the same nature with those already given. The Expiation of an *uncertain Murder* would have very properly come in with the *Sin-Offerings* in *Leviticus*. The Prohibitions
of

of sowing a Vineyard with several sorts of Seeds at the same time, and of plowing with an Ox and an Ass in the same Team, belong to the Laws of the *Cilaim* before recited^b, and so of several others. It is plain then, and in Truth the thing is evident to any Man that reads the *Pentateuch*, who is unacquainted with the *Pharisaical* Schemes, that there was no Order observ'd in giving the *Mosaic* Laws, and that very many of them were given upon particular Occasions, in which it was necessary to make such Determinations.

This last Observation destroys the whole *Traditional System*. There are four Cases that prove it beyond Contradiction, which are so considerable to my Purpose that I shall set them down at length. In the xxivth Chapter of *Leviticus* we have an account of an *Egyptian*, the Son of one *Shelomith* a Woman of the *Tribe of Dan*, who was brought to *Moses* for blaspheming the Name of the Lord, and cursing; and they put him in Ward that the Mind of the Lord might be shewed them. Now tho' this happen'd soon after the coming of *Moses* down from the Mount, yet we see he would not determine the Matter till he had enquir'd of the Lord: Upon Enquiry God declar'd that this Man should be stoned; he was so: And then God commanded that for the future every Man that should blaspheme the Name of the Lord, whether he were a Stranger or one born in the Land, should be surely put to Death^c. The same Method was observ'd in *Numb. xv.* when the Man was found gathering of Sticks on the Sabbath Day; he was likewise put in Ward, because IT WAS NOT DECLARED what should be done to him; and then by the express Command of God at that time purposely given he was stoned^d.

^b All heterogeneous Mixtures as of Linen or Woollen, Hair or Silk in the same Garment, of different Seeds in Fields and Vineyards, and the like, are called in Hebrew *Cilaim*; of these there is a special Title in the Talmud, in the Order of Seeds.

^c *Levis. xxiv. 10—16.*

^d *Numb. xv. 32—36.*

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Afterwards when the *Israelites* were come to the Banks of *Jordan*, God gave the Laws for appointing Cities of Refuge for Manslayers, who might happen to kill any Body against their wills^e. At that time also it was that the Heads of the *Gileadites* came to enquire about the disposing of the Inheritance of *Zelophehad* their Brother, who left only Daughters; *Moses* told them, that the thing which the LORD commanded concerning the Daughters of *Zelophehad* was, that they should marry to whom they should think best, only to the Family of the Tribe of their Father they should marry; and then *Moses* concludes the Book of *Numbers* with these very remarkable words, *These are the Commandments and the Judgments which the LORD commanded by the hand of Moses, unto the Children of Israel in the Plains of Moab, by Jordan near Jericho*^f.

III. However for Arguments sake, let us suppose that the *Oral Law* was deliver'd to *Moses* just before he died, and then recommended as his last Will and Legacy to *Joshua*, and the Priests and Elders that were in the Camp. Can we think that he who is so warm and vehement in his Exhortations to the People to observe the Laws and Statutes which he had before given them, who had even commanded their future Kings when they should have any, to write a Copy of the Book of the Law, that they might have it the better infixed in their Memories, should give no one Direction, or Hint of a Direction concerning their remembring and transmitting the *Oral Law* to their Posterity? That he should say nothing of its Authority, and of the Reverence which Men ought to pay to its Constitutions? To say that by *Statutes* is meant the *Written Law*, and by *Judgments* the *Oral*, or *vice versa*, is to say nothing; for every one of those words which we render by *Laws*, *Statutes*, *Judgments*, and *Ordinances*, are in many places indis-

^e *Numb.* xxxv.

^f *Numb.* xxxvi.

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putably apply'd to the *written Law*, and there are no Directions given in the whole *Pentateuch*, by which we can be in the least instructed when we are to apply them, or any of them to the *written Law*, and when to the *Oral*. This *negative Argument* duly consider'd will be found to be demonstrable, especially if to this we add, that we are left as much in the dark as to this Matter in the whole *Old Testament*, as we are in the Books of *Moses* themselves.

IV. But I would not wholly rely upon this negative way of Reasoning; the following Arguments will, I believe, be thought more positive. In *Deut. xvii.* God gives the People Instructions how they were to proceed in difficult Cases: "If there arise a Matter too hard for thee in Judgment, between Blood and Blood, between Plea and Plea, and between Stroke and Stroke, being Matters of Controversy within thy Gates; then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the Place which the Lord thy God shalt choose; and thou shalt come unto the Priests, the Levites, and unto the Judge that shall be in those Days, and enquire; and they shall shew thee the Sentence of Judgment: And thou shalt do according to the Sentence which they of that Place (which the Lord shall choose) shall shew thee, and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee; according to the Sentence of the Law which they shall teach thee, and according to the Judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do: Thou shalt not decline from the Sentence which they shall shew thee, to the right hand nor to the left*." The *Priests*, the *Levites* and the *Judge* were the Persons to whom they were directed to recur. The *Talmudists* will tell us, that they had the *written* and the *oral Law* by which they were to determine the Cause; sure then this should have been more plainly express'd. All that these

* *Deut. xvii. 8—11.*

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these words necessarily prove is, that these Judges were to decide the Causes that came before them, according to the true Sense and Meaning of the Law. We find no mention here of any *Constitutions* given to *Moses* upon *Mount Sinai*, or of any of the *thirteen ways of Reasoning*, which as we are told were given to *Moses* at the same time, or of any other thing besides the written Law itself, by which these Judges were to be guided; by that they were to give Sentence.

But these things were then sufficiently known, and so there was no need of having them expressly mention'd. Be it so; yet if we consider what a mighty Stress was laid throughout the whole *Mosaic* Law upon its being carefully and strictly observ'd, so that they were not to decline from it to the right hand or to the left; ought we not to think that a wise and merciful Lawgiver would leave as little to the Memories of Men as possibly he could? The *Jews* do not seem at that time to have been so very willing to obey the Law, that there should be so great a Latitude given them in its Observation, as it is plain there must have been by this means: The whole Drift of the *Mosaic* OEconomy directly tended to tie the *Israelites* up, not to give them the least Handle at any time to break loose. And how well soever they might be inclin'd to observe the Letter of the Law with great strictness after their return from the *Babylonish* Captivity; yet it is evident the Case was quite otherwise during most part of the time from the Death of *Moses* to the Destruction of the first Temple: And from uncontested Facts which happen'd in that Period, this whole Matter will be still more manifest.

V. In King *Asa's* time, *Azariah* the Son of *Oded* makes this very remarkable Speech to that Prince:
 "Hear ye me *Asa*, and all *Judah* and *Benjamin*, the
 "LORD is with you, while ye be with him; and if
 "ye seek him, he will be found of you; but if ye
 "forake

“ forlake him, he will forsake you. Now for a
 “ long Season *Israel* hath been without the true God,
 “ and without a teaching Priest, and without Law:
 “ But when they in their Trouble did turn unto the
 “ LORD God of *Israel* and sought him, he was found
 “ of them; and in those Times *there was* no Peace
 “ to him that went out, nor to him that came in,
 “ but great Vexations *were* upon all the Inhabitants
 “ of the Countries; and Nation was destroy’d of
 “ Nation, and City of City, for God did vex them
 “ with all Adversity &c.” It is plain these words re-
 lated to some time that was past; this Exhortation
 could not otherwise have had its due weight. *Aza-
 riab* here reason’d with the People from the Evils
 their Fathers suffer’d because they forsook the LORD,
 and from the Deliverances which he vouchsafed them
 when they return’d to him again: In this Appeal he
 said nothing but what they all knew had really come
 to pass.

Now no part of this can relate to the times of *Samuel* and *Saul*, of *David* and *Solomon*; then the Peo-
 ple certainly *had the true God, and a teaching Priest,*
and the Law. For this reason too the Days of *Eli*
 (in whose time the Service of the Tabernacle was un-
 doubtedly kept up, tho’ very sorrily in his latter Days)
 ought perhaps to be excepted. The Days after *Solomon*’s
 Death cannot also possibly be meant, for they
 were not much above thirty Years, and the public
 Worship of God was never intermitted during that
 whole time. *Abijah*’s Challenge to *Jeroboam* when he
 proclaim’d War against him, proves this beyond dis-
 pute. “ As for us (says *Abijah*) the LORD is our God,
 “ and we have not forsaken him, and the Priests
 “ which minister unto the LORD are the Sons of *Aa-
 “ ron*, and the *Levites* wait upon their Business: And

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“ they burn unto the LORD every Morning, and e-
 “ very Evening burnt Sacrifices and sweet Incense;
 “ the Shew-bread also set they in order upon the
 “ pure Table, and the Candlestick of Gold with the
 “ Lamps thereof, to burn every Evening; for we
 “ keep the Charge of the LORD our God, but ye
 “ have forsaken him^b.” That this was not vain Boast-
 ing, the Event declar’d; for God bless’d him with a
 signal Victory, in which there fell down slain of Israel
five hundred thousand Men, and that because the Men
*of Judah relied upon the Lord God of their Fathers*ⁱ. In
Abijah’s time then this was the Case, and he appealed
 to the practice under his Father *Rehoboam*, for as to
 himself he reigned but three Years: *Asa* his Son suc-
 ceeded him, and the first ten Years of his Reign were
 quiet; those then ought to be excepted; consequent-
 ly there remains only the Reign of *Rehoboam*, and *A-*
bijah’s Challenge clears that.

The time then which *Azariah* meant was that of
 the Judges, from the Death of the Elders that outlived
Joshua to the Days of *Eli*; for after the Generation
 that came up with *Joshua* into the Land of *Canaan*
 was extinct, the Author of the Book of Judges tells
 us, “ That the Children of Israel did evil in the
 “ sight of the LORD, and serv’d Baalim, and they
 “ forsook the Lord God of their Fathers, which
 “ brought them out of the Land of Egypt, and
 “ follow’d other Gods, of the Gods of the Peo-
 “ ple that were round about them, and bowed them-
 “ selves unto them, and provok’d the LORD to
 “ anger: And they forsook the LORD and ser-
 “ ved Baal and *Ashtaroth*; and the Anger of the
 “ LORD was hot against Israel, and he deliver’d them
 “ into the hands of Spoilers that spoil’d them, and he
 “ sold them into the hands of their Enemies round a-
 “ bout, so that they could not any longer stand be-

^b 2 Chron. xiii. 10, 11.

ⁱ Ibid. v. 17, 18.

“ fore their Enemies. Whithersoever they went out
 “ the Hand of the Lord was against them for evil,
 “ as the Lord had said; and as the Lord had sworn
 “ unto them, and they were greatly distressed. Ne-
 “ vertheless the Lord raised up Judges, which deli-
 “ vered them out of the Hands of those that spoiled
 “ them. And yet they would not hearken unto
 “ their Judges, but they went a whoring after other
 “ Gods, and bow’d themselves unto them: They
 “ turned quickly out of the way which their Fathers
 “ walked in, obeying the Commandments of the
 “ Lord; but they did not so. And when the LORD
 “ raised them up Judges, then the Lord was with
 “ the Judges, and delivered them out of the Hands
 “ of their Enemies all the Days of the Judge (for
 “ it repented the Lord because of their Groanings,
 “ by reason of them that oppressed them, and vexed
 “ them.) And it came to pass when the Judge was
 “ dead, that they returned, and corrupted themselves
 “ more than their Fathers, in following other Gods
 “ to serve them, and to bow down unto them; they
 “ ceased not from their own Doings, nor from their
 “ stubborn way.”

I choose to set down this Citation at length, be-
 cause it fully proves what *Azariab* said. During this
 whole Period, after *Phineas* dy’d (who was alive
 when that execrable Crime was committed at *Gibeab*
 in *Benjamin*) we know nothing of any High Priest
 till *Eli*’s time, which was certainly a long season¹.
Eli was of the House of *Ithamar*, but how or why
 the Priesthood was translated to his House, we are
 not informed: We have indeed the Genealogy of the
 House of *Phineas* from him to *Zadok* preserved in
 1 *Chron.* vi. 4—8, and in *Ezra* vii. 2—5; but whe-
 ther any of these his Descendents, or how many of

¹ *Judges* ii. 11—19.

¹ 1 *Chron.* xv. 3.

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them were High Priests we know not: Nor have we any succession of Prophets from *Moses* to *Samuel*. St. *Peter* says, that all the Prophets from *Samuel* downwards, spoke of the Days of the *Messiah*; and that *Moses* truly said unto the Fathers, that a Prophet should the Lord their God raise to them of their Brethren, whom they should hear, and between *Moses* and *Samuel* hints at none ^m. And in the History of *Samuel*, when God appeared to him whilst he was a Child; the sacred Historian says, *The word of the Lord was precious in those Days, there was no open Vision* ⁿ. It is plain then, that in those Days *there was no teaching Priest or Prophet*. The Priests that they had, went most probably into the Corruptions of the times; for which Reason the High-Priesthood seems to have been translated from the House of *Eleazar*, to that of *Ithamar*. Nor was there any Law, i. e. any regular Application to its Offices, to understand its meaning in those Days. When the People were oppressed they cry'd unto the Lord, and were delivered. When the Judge who delivered them was dead, they backslid again, and so they went on in a succession of Calamities and Deliverances till *Eli* came. And this is a short and true Image of those *Afflicted Times*, when as *Azariah* says, *there was no Peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, or as Deborah* (who was one of their Deliverers) more emphatically expresses it, *when the Highways were unoccupy'd, and when Travellers walked through by-ways* ^o.

What then can we think of those Times? How could *Tradition* be then preserved, when even they had much ado to preserve the Tabernacle and the Ark of the Lord: When for 200 Years together we do not so much as know who was their High Priest?

^m *Acts* iii. 22—24.

ⁿ *1 Sam.* iii. 1.

^o *Judg.* v. 6.

In all which time too, there was not one Prophet that we know of. Were these a likely People to transmit to Posterity their *Thirteen ways of Reasoning*, of which many are so intricate and subtle, that it is not an easy matter to explain them, much less to use them readily? Were these Men, think we, careful to preserve nice and subtle Traditions concerning the meaning of a Law, the very Being of which they seem not to have regarded, unless they happened at any time to be pinched by a Foreign Enemy? And yet this is the first Period or Interval of Time, from those very Elders who are said to have receiv'd their original Traditions immediately from *Moses* himself, just before he dy'd. Now if the Accounts of the first Period of Time, which is to preserve any Tradition, be lame and uncertain, and that Period be very long, there is an end of all Superstructures that can be built upon the Actions of those Men who lived whilst it lasted. As for any thing which can be gathered from the History of the Judges, the *Oral Law* might be preserved by a few Men who lived obscurely, and who left no Memory of what they did behind them, and it might not; and consequently nothing can be built upon it. Nay in case they had an *Oral Law* among them, since we are absolutely in the dark concerning *them*, as well as *what* they did, we cannot tell whether it was the same which the *Jews* had in our blessed Saviour's time, or whether it was *another*; and if this *Law* had ever been changed, as it is impossible to prove it might not, there is an end of its Authority.

VI. However, if any Prophet or Inspired Writer had positively told us that any set of Men had thus preserved the *Oral Law*, it had been sufficient; for then we should have been sure that *there was* such a one *once*, and we should likewise have had all possible certainty that the Providence of God would have preserved it uncorrupted, or have furnished us with

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ways of judging which Traditions were genuine, and which were not; but no such thing appears during this whole Period, in which there is a Chasm of 200 Years: Nor do we find any thing of that sort under the *Kings*. *David* and *Solomon* settled the Order of the Temple Service: This they did as inspired Men, who had the Regal Power to back them in what they did. In every thing else they follow'd the Directions in *Deut. xvii.* of they took Instructions from the Prophets whom God rais'd up at that time. After them several other Prophets were sent, not constantly, but from time to time when God thought it proper to warn or instruct his People by their means; for even in this *Prophetic Period* there were great Interruptions both in their Appearances, and in the *Study of the Law* itself, which is more immediately to our present Purpose. For the *Chain of Tradition* supposes this *Study* to have been constantly and regularly kept up. This appears from a very remarkable Occurrence in *Josiah's* time, which ought to be particularly consider'd.

VII. When *Hilkiab* the High Priest repaired the Temple, he found by accident the Book of the Law, and acquainted *Shaphan*, the Secretary, with what had happen'd. *Shaphan*, when he had read it, told the King of it; who when he had heard it read, rent his Cloaths, and sent immediately to *Huldah the Prophetess*, to enquire of the Lord upon that Occasion. *Huldah* forthwith denounced Wrath against the People for their repeated Transgressions in *Manasseh's* and *Amon's* time, and declared that the King should not Be involved in the common Calamity, because he had humbled himself for the Sins of his Forefathers, and of the People. This is a short Narrative of a Fact, which is told very

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circumstantially, and nearly in the same Words, in the second Book of *Kings*, and the second Book of *Chronicles*.

Can now any Man (who knows nothing of the Claims of the modern *Jews* to a Traditional Law derived to them from *Moses*) imagine that there was in *Judaea*, in King *Josiah's* time, a constant succession of Men who preserved the Law, and study'd it, and enquired into its Meaning, and made Decisions upon doubtful Cases, and drew Conclusions from plain Passages, in order to clear those that were obscure, at a time when even the King himself, that religious and zealous Prince King *Josiah*, had not so much as ever heard or read the Law, tho' he was then xxvi Years of Age? Nay, even the teaching Priest *Hilkiah* seems to have been as great a Stranger to it, as any Body else. Let us take a view now, and compare the State of Religion in *Judaea* in *Josiah's* time, with what it was when our blessed Lord was upon Earth. In this latter Period there were *Synagogues* and *Academies*, where the Law and the Prophets were regularly and constantly read every Week. There were *Schools* in which the Doctors disputed upon all imaginable Cases that could happen in the Law. The *Scribes* were then a distinct set of Men, whose proper Business it was to study and explain it. And the *Pharisees* were a numerous Sect who profess to obey not only the Dictates of the Written Law, but also whatsoever was taught besides in the Traditions of the Elders. Here in *Josiah's* time, the High Priest is order'd to repair the Temple, and there casually finds a Copy of the Law, which with Wonder he delivers to the King's Secretary; who carries it to his Master, and he upon hearing what was therein commanded, and how terrible the Threatnings were that were denounced against the Disobedient, rends his Cloaths, and sends immediately to a Prophetess then living at *Jerusalem*,

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to enquire of her by what Methods he and his People might hope to avert such dreadful Judgments. It is as plain as the Sun in the Firmament, that there was no regular Order of Men then in being in *Judaea*, who made it their Business to preserve the *Oral Law*. Instead of preserving it, the *High Priest* had never, in all probability, before read the *Written Law*. And it is remarkable, that there was no Prophet of Note then at *Jerusalem* but *Huldab*. We may reasonably suppose, that if there had been any other considerable Prophet at that time at *Jerusalem*, the King would not have sent to that Woman upon such an Occasion; for we read of no Prophets all *Manasseh's* time. *Isaiab*, and the Prophets that were his Contemporaries, were dead before, and *Jeremiab* and *Ezekiel* did not Prophecy till *Manasseh* was dead. In all that long Reign then, which was 55 Years, there was no *open Vision*: And what his Repentance produced more than his own Restoration to his Kingdom, from whence he had been carried Captive to *Babylon*, we know not. It is certain the People were little the better upon it; and that is assigned as a Reason why *Josiab*, with his exemplary Piety, could do no more than save himself. This I think sufficiently proves that there was no set of *Tannaim* during all that Reign; and (as I said before) when such a *Chain* as that is broken for above one Generation together, there is an end of the Authority of any subsequent Doctors, who have nothing but *Oral Tradition* to build upon.

VIII. Thus things stood till the Captivity. Then the People had time enough when they were driven out of their own Land, to reflect upon the heinousness of those Sins which had caused their Expulsion. And upon their return into *Judaea* we do not find them charged with Idolatry, or with making any Steps towards it: And the Abuses that had crept in among them from the first Year of *Cyrus* to the

xxth Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when *Nehemiah* was sent by that Prince with a Commission to *Jerusalem*, to make a thorough Reformation of the Abuses which he found among the *Jews* (some of which, if not early prevented, might have caused a relapse into their former Idolatries) were very rigidly inquired into; then a Reformation was, by *Ezra's* Assistance, effectually made. After that time indeed the *Jews* steadily adhered to the Law of *Moses*, till the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who with a violent Hand abolished the publick Worship of God, and terribly persecuted all those who did not comply with the Idolatrous Worship that he had set up. Then *Mattathias* and his Sons made the first stand, and God blest their Army in a wonderful manner; from the Sirname of *Judas* his eldest Son, who was called *Maccabaeus*, the Account of their Actions is called the *History of the Maccabees*¹.

In that History there are some Passages which plainly shew that the *Traditional Men*, whom we hear so much of afterwards, had not then formed any regular Scheme of the *Oral Law*, nor had any Rules by which to fix their Decisions, any farther than what the Text of the *Written Law* furnished them with, whereby to guide themselves upon any Emergency.

I *Macc.* iv. 44—46. we have an Account, that when *Judas Maccabaeus* cleansed the Sanctuary which had been defiled by converting it to Idolatrous uses by the Officers of *Antiochus*; That “when as they
“consulted what to do with the Altar of Burnt Offerings which was profaned, they thought it best
“to pull it down, lest it should be a reproach to

¹ *Judas* was surnamed *Maccabaeus* from the Letters *Macbai*, which were written upon his Standard. *Macbai* are the initial Letters of the Words, *Mi camocha baelim Jehova*. Who is like unto thee, O Lord; which are part of *Moses's* Song that was sung after the *Israelites* had pass the Red Sea. *Exod.* xv. 11.

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“ them, because the Heathen had defiled it; wherefore they pulled it down, and laid up the Stones in the Mountain of the Temple, in a convenient Place, UNTIL THERE SHOULD COME A PROPHEET to shew what shou’d be done with them.” The Pharisees in our Saviour’s time, wou’d, I fancy, have told what to have done with them, without staying for the Determination of a Prophet. Afterwards when *Bacchides* (one of the King of Syria’s Generals) made an Irruption into *Judaea*, “ there was great Affliction in *Israel*, the like whereof was not since the time that a Prophet was not seen among them.” 1 *Macc.* ix. 47. And when the People had by the Courage and Conduct of *Judas* and his Brethren obtained Peace, and that they were no longer afraid of being molested in the Exercise of their Religion, either by the Kings of *Syria* or *Aegypt*, “ the *Jews* and Priests were well pleas’d that *Simon* should be their Governour and High Priest for ever, until there should arise a faithful Prophet.” 1 *Macc.* xiv. 41. These Passages put together plainly shew that the *Jews* at that time thought themselves at a loss how they shou’d act in difficult Cases, for want of such Prophets as their Predecessors had been blest with; and that they esteemed the Times in which they had Prophets sent from God, to be chiefly happy upon this account, because they could not then be at a loss how to understand his Law. The ordinary Means of Direction were not believed to be sufficient in extraordinary Cases, and therefore they made such provisional Regulations as should be valid, till they could obtain that supernatural Instruction which God from time to time vouchsafed to their Forefathers.

IX. Before I conclude these *negative Arguments* against the *divine Authority of the Misna*, I wou’d add farther that from the *Jews* Method of piecing together the *Chain of their Traditions*, we see what great

great Chasms they are forced to make, and how awkwardly they fill them up. They tell us there was no Disagreement among those who handed down their Traditions, till the Days of the *great Synagogue*¹. This they are obliged to say, because they know full well that there are not the least Footsteps of such a *Chain of Oral Tradition* in the old Testament. Now it is possible to imagine, that where things went on smoothly, as the *Jews* suppose the *course of their Traditions* to do, during this very long (and in every other particular very distracted) Period, there might be no mention made of it: For things are most taken notice of in History, where there is the greatest opposition. But if there were such a *Chain* for all that Time, and that the Prophets who in this Case were like other Men, & did in every Age dispute concerning the meaning of the Law, and make Decisions accordingly; can we imagine that we should not have heard so much as one single Syllable of what they did during so very long a Period? Whereas after the Days of *Antigonus Sochaeus*, and especially after the forming of the Schools of *Hillel* and *Shammai*, the Opinions of the Doctors fill up every Page of the *Misna*. This is a demonstrable Argument that there could be no such *Chain* before, tho' they have done all they cou'd to patch up this Sore; for since there are no Prophets named from *Moses* to *Samuel*, these Masters tell us, that *Phineas*, the Son of *Eleazar*, lived down to *Eli*, i. e. about 300 Years: But that was then above the Age of Man, and had it been true, wou'd have been infallibly mentioned in the Book of *Judges*². And now by this lengthening of the Age of *Phineas*, the *succession of the Oral Law* holds pretty well unbroken, because in *Eli's* Time

¹ Vide supra, pag. 11. ² Ubi supra. p. 11. ³ Vide Selden de successione in Pontificat. Ebraeorum. Lib. I. cap. 2.

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the Lord began to appear to *Samuel*. For the same Reason they make *Ezra*, and the *Men of the great Synagogue*, to live to the Time of *Alexander the Great*; because from *Zorobabel* down to the *Misnic Doctors*, they cannot continue the succession any other way: And then to make that bear, they shorten the duration of the *Persian Monarchy*, as much as they before lengthen'd the Age of *Phineas*. Tho' what I have already produc'd out of the *History of the Maccabees*, concerning the want of a Prophet, when *Judas* and his Brethren reformed the *Jewish State*, effectually confutes that Supposition. These horrible *Anachronisms* by which they first lengthened the Age of *Phineas*, and then contracted the Time from *Cyrus* to *Darius Codomannus* were early invented to fill up these *Hiatus's*; which if they had not been thus filled up, their whole Scheme must have faln to the Ground. Nay the very first Sentence in the *Pirke Aboth* seems to prove against the claims of the *Gemmarists*, that the Masters from whom *R. Juda* made that Collection, had not so great an Opinion of the certainty of the *Oral Law*, or at least of its Authority, as these latter Doctors affirm: For he says there, that the *Men of the great Synagogue* left *Three Sayings* behind them, *Be slow in Judgment, settle many Disciples, and make a HEDGE FOR THE LAW*. If there had been a regular Hedge for the Law before, what need was there of recording this as one of their notable Sayings? The Truth of it is, the Humour of making these *Constitutions* seems very probably to have first begun then; that as the *wise Men* said in another Case, *Men might be kept far off from Transgression*.

¶ *Beracoth. i. 1.*

C H A P. V.

Arguments drawn from the Oral Law it self, to prove that it cannot be of Divine Authority.

THE Arguments already brought prove only negatively; but their Force is such, that if we had no others, we might certainly enough conclude, that the *Oral Law* of the *Pharisees* could not originally come from God. But besides them we have very many positive Arguments, which to an unprejudic'd Mind, will put this matter beyond Dispute; those are drawn from the *Misnic Law* itself. Wherever there is any thing directly unjust or knavish, we may be sure that cannot come from God. Wherever we find any *Constitutions* that either contradict or evade the literal Force of any *Written Law*, we cannot think that God commanded both. Now of both these sorts we have many Instances in the *Misna*, even in the solemnest Cases; wherein from the Tenour of the *Written Law* it manifestly appears that God laid a more than ordinary Weight upon the direct and honest Observation of what is there commanded. In the two Titles *Shabbath* and *Eruvin* here printed, a great deal of this appears. In my Explication of those Titles, whenever I apprehended that any thing of this Nature might be discovered, I have taken particular care to observe it. One Instance there mentioned will properly come in here.

In the fourth Commandment every Man knows that the *Jews* were expressly forbidden to do any servile Work on the *Sabbath-Day*. If therefore any thing
was

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was to be done, which one Man could do alone, as removing a light Piece of Wood: For instance, if two removed it together, they were both free, i. e. neither of them broke the Sabbath, because neither of them did the Work singly. This is most abominably knavish. I pass on now to others.

God positively commanded, that he who vow'd a Vow shou'd keep it. "If a Man vow a Vow un-
"to the Lord, or swear an Oath to bind his Soul
"with a Bond; he shall not break his Word, he
"shall do according to all that proceedeth out of
"his Mouth." *Numb. xxx. 2.* This was direct and plain; yet if any Man was weary of keeping his Vow, he might go to some Body whom he looked upon to be a wise Man, and in his absence to any three other Persons, and he or they might dissolve it. There is a Question in the *Misna* which shews the flagrant Injustice of these Doctors, and at the same time illustrates the Words of our blessed Lord, *Matt. xv.* "R. Eliezer says, they open a Man a Gate [for
"Repentance] in Honour of his Father and his Mo-
"ther, but the wise Men bind." What they mean here is this. A Man vows or says *Corban* or *Kouam*, or some such equivalent Words, that his Father or his Mother shall not be the better for what he has. This perhaps he says in his Anger; but still he is bound not to relieve them, because as they speak, his Vow binds. Afterwards he repents, i. e. he is sorry that he made such a Vow, may not he then, considering the Honour which he is obliged by the fifth Command to pay to his Parents, desire to be loosed

Nedarim ix. 1. *Kouem* is to vow or swear sacredly, with an Imprecation upon ones self. As thus; *Kouam, I will do so or so: This the Gemara explains by, May I be debarred from eating any of the Fruits of the Earth, if I do not effect what I vow to do. Vide Buxtorf. Lex. Talm. iv. Kouem.*

from

from his Vow, out of respect to his Parents? No, say the Elders, he must not assign that as a Reason; he must say he would be free, because that Vow is inconvenient to himself. Here we see the impious Rage of a disobedient Child shall out-weigh one of the most solemn Commands in the Decalogue. And for what? Why, to exalt the Power of the wise Men who are supposed to understand the Law: And the Reason must be given from some Inconvenience to himself, lest otherwise he might be tempted to lye; since no Man will voluntarily own, that he has any Intention to dishonour his Father or his Mother. And the Commentators tell us the Decision was against R. Eliezer, who here acted like an honest Man, and was against the Opinion of the wise Men. For, say they, the Law is expresse, that *he shall not break his Word, but shall do according to all that proceedeth out of his Mouth.* And yet at the same time they thought it necessary that such a Power should be vested some where (when a Man makes a rash Vow, and is desirous to be rid of it) that he may be dissolved from that Obligation. But then they would in no Case allow a Man to disannul his own Vow himself, let the Reason of doing so be never so pressing; and there indeed if they had duly restrained the wise Mens Power, they were not much in the wrong. Well therefore did our Lord reply to the Pharisees, who were angry with his Disciples for eating with unwashen Hands. “Why do you also transgress the Commandments of God by your Tradition? For God commanded, saying, Honour thy Father and Mother; and he that curseth Father or Mother let him die the death. But ye say, whosoever shall say to his Father, or his Mother, it is a Gift [*Corban*] by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; and honour not his Father or his Mother, *he shall be free.* Thus have ye

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“ye made the Commandment of God of none effect
“by your Tradition.” *Matth. xv. 3—6* *

What makes this whole Proceeding of these Doctors the more provoking, is, That they own *Oaths* cannot be broken; so that if a Man has sworn at any Time to do a thing which may be lawfully done, he is bound to do it; and they acknowledge that no Power upon Earth can dissolve the Obligation. And if that thing which he thus swears to do be against any Command of God, his Oath is void, and he ought to be scourged for swearing rashly. Now where there is a *promissory Oath*, one wou'd think the Case shou'd be the same as in a *Vow*; because it is possible that what *one Swears* to do, may be as inconvenient as what *one Vows* can possibly be. But thus they reason. The People swore at Mount *Sinai*, and that *Oath* was confirmed by a Sacrifice, that they would obey all the Commands of the Lord (*Exod. xxiv. 3—7.*) Then, say they, one *Oath* may not disannul another; and therefore when their Fore-

* I cannot here omit a Case which (as the *Misna* tells us) happen'd at Bethhoron. (*Hedarim. v. 6.*) A Man made a Vow that his Father should not profit by him. This Man afterwards makes a Wedding-Feast for his own Son; and hath a mind his Father should be at it; he cannot invite him because he is ty'd up by his Vow, he finds therefore this expedient. He makes a Gift of the Court in which the Feast was to be kept, and of the Feast itself to a third Person in Trust; that his Father should be invited by that third Person with the other Company whom he at first designed. Says this third Person, if these Things which you thus gave me are mine, I will dedicate them to God, and then none of you all can be the better for them. The Son reply'd, I did not give them to you, that you shou'd consecrate them. Then, says the third Man, yours was no Donation, only you were willing to eat and drink with your Father. Thus, says R. Judah, they dissolved each others Intentions. And when the Case came before the wise Men, they said, A Gift which may not be consecrated by the Person to whom it is given, is not a Gift.

† Vide Pocockii not. Miscellan. in portam Moiss. pag. 416.

fathers

fathers had sworn for themselves and their latest Posterity, that they would all obey every Command of the LORD their God; neither the first Swearers, nor any of those that came after them, could by any *subsequent Oath*, wherein they shou'd swear not to obey any particular Law, make that *original Oath* void. Thus far they are unquestionably right. But then as to *Vows* they tell us the Case is different: For here *Things* are the principal Object, not *Persons*; there *Persons* are chiefly concerned, not *Things*. When a *Man swears*, his *Oath* is a Declaration to which he calls God to witness, that *he will do*, or *not do* such or such a *Thing*; but when he *Vows*, he only declares that *such a Thing is unlawful* for him to meddle with, or to do in such or such a way, according to the particular specification of that Vow. Accordingly they have this Axiom, *Men, not Things, were bound by Oath from Mount Sinai*. This is extremely subtle. An honest Man will certainly think here is a Distinction without a Difference, with a witness: This, and many other Things of this Nature in the *Misna*, have confirmed me in an Opinion which I have long had, that wherever in Interpretations of Laws (let those Laws be what they will, *Divine* or *Human*) we meet with much *chicanery* and subtlety; it is to serve some knavish purpose or other, let the Disguise be never so plausible.

There are many Instances of this sort of Prevarication in the Title *Baba-Kama*; that Title is wholly taken up with Laws that relate to *Compensation of Damages*. In Cases of that sort there are great and constant temptations to Knavery; for when any Man has done an Injury to another, if he did it voluntarily, he would willingly make no Restitution at all; and if it was against his Will, tho' he would readily make requital, yet (unless he is scrupulously honest) he wou'd be well contented that the Loss which he must sustain by that requital, shou'd fall as easily as possibly

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possibly he can. The following Citations will plainly shew the Temper of these *Pbarisees*, where *meum* and *tuum* were immediately concerned. I shall make very few Reflexions upon these Constitutions as I go along, because as I take them to be all knavish, and consequently what the God of Justice could not command, so I declare my mind freely in mentioning them here, and then every Man may pass what Censure upon them he thinks fit.

The Law is, that whoever injures another, must *make him full Restitution*; and if the nature of the Thing will bear it, it ought to be in kind, of the best of his Goods. “If a Man shall cause a Field or Vineyard to be eaten, and shall put in his Beast, and shall feed in another Man’s Field; of the best of his own Field, and of the best of his own Vineyard shall he make Restitution².” But if the Damage be done to *one who is not a Son of the Covenant*, i. e. is not an *Israelite*, the Person who did the Injury is not obliged, by this *Traditional Law*, to make Restitution³. In Cases of Damage none but *Israelites* could be Evidence^b. Where an Ox gores a Man or Beast, the Law makes a Difference between an Ox that was used to gore, and an Ox that was not used to gore^c. Upon this they make very subtle Distinctions between *Beasts* that can do Damage, *that are innocent*, and *Beasts that are convict*. By the one they mean Creatures not naturally used to do Mischief in any particular way; and by the other those that naturally, or by a vicious Habit, are mischievous that way; and here they present us with the following Rules. The *Tooth of a Beast is convict*, when it is proved to eat [in another Man’s property] *what is its usual Food*, and then full Restitution

² *Exod.* xxii. 5.

³ *Bab. Kam.* i. 2.

^b *Ibid.* i. 3.

^c *Exod.* xxi. 28, 29.

must

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must be made; but if a Beast that is used to eat Fruits and Herbs, gnaws Cloaths, or Things of that nature, which are *not its usual Food*; the Owner of the Beast shall pay but *half the Damage*, when it is committed in the Property of the injured Person; but if the Injury is committed in the Property of the Person who do's the Damage, he is free, because the Beast gnaw'd what was not its usual Food. As thus; if the Beast of *A* gnaws or tears the Cloaths of *B*, in *B*'s House or Ground; *A* shall pay half the Damage: But if *B*'s Cloaths are damnify'd in *A*'s Ground by *A*'s Beast, *A* is free; for what had *B* to do to put his Cloaths in *A*'s Ground? Now (say they) the Compensation in Cases of this kind, is to be but half; because though the Beast is *convict* as to eating Grass, that being its natural Food, yet it is not *convict* as to eating Cloaths. If the Beast is benefited, *i. e.* nourished by what it eats, then the Damage shall be rated according to the Advantage that the Beast receives, and not according to the Loss which the Man suffers. As thus, If an Ass eats a Peck of Dates, which are not its usual Food, that belong to another Man; the Owner of the Ass shall not pay the Price of the Dates, but the Price of a Peck of Barley; because the Dates are not suppos'd to nourish more than so much Barley would have done^d. And here they use great Ceremony in *convicting* a Beast. No Beast can be *convicted* of being *vitious* till Evidence is given that he has done *Mischief* three successive Days^e; and if he leaves off those *vitious Tricks* for three Days more, he is innocent again^f. An Ox may be *convict* of goring an Ox, and not a Man; of goring a Man, and not an Ox; of goring Children, and not grown Persons; of goring on the *Sabbath*; and not

^d Bab. Kam. ii. 2. & l'Emperour in locam.

^e Ibid.

^f Ibid. ii. 4.

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on a Working Day: In these Cases *full Restitution* shall be made only where the Beast is *convicted*, in the other Cases *but half*. And in the last Case, when the Beast that was *convicted of goring on the Sabbath*, leaves off goring on that Day for *three Sabbath Days* together, he ought to be esteemed innocent *quoad hoc* again ^a. If a Beast *not consecrated*, *i. e.* that belongs to any private *Israelite*, gores a Beast that is *consecrated*, *i. e.* devoted by its Owner to be sacrificed, and *è contra*, they are both *free*; (*i. e.* there needs be no Compensation) because the Law says, *If one Man's Ox hurt another's that he die* ^b. Now an *Ox that is consecrated* belongs to no particular Man, and *consecrated Beasts* are not named. If the Beast of an *Israelite* gores the Beast of an Alien, there needs be no Compensation; but if an Alien's Beast gores the Beast of an *Israelite*, whether the Beast of the Alien be *innocent* or *convict*, full Restitution must be made ⁱ. If a Beast intends to run at a Beast, and kills a Man; if it runs at a *Gentile*, and kills an *Israelite*, it is *free*: So that all *Punishment* (and *Restitution* is certainly *Punishment*) depends upon the Proofs of the Design of the Beast that did the Injury ^k. If a Man keeps up a Beast, and it gets out by Accident, and do's Mischief, *R. Juda* says, if it was *innocent*, there must be Restitution; (*i. e.* as far as half the Damage, which, as I said before, is the full Restitution prescribed when a Beast is *not convicted*;) but if it was *convict* there needs be none, because the Owner obey'd the Letter of the Law, and *kept him in* ^l. *R. Eliezer's* Decision here is ingenious and honest. He says there is no way of *keeping in* a Beast that is *convict* but *with a Knife* ^m. If a Man sends one that is Deaf, or Foolish, or a Child, to burn his Neighbour's House,

^a *Ibid.* iv. 2.

^b *Exod.* xxi. 35.

ⁱ *Bab. Kam.* iv. 3.

^k *Ibid.* iv. 6.

^l *Exod.* xxi. 36.

^m *Bab. Kam.* iv. 9.

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or Corn, the Sender is guilty before God, tho' not before Men, because he did not personally do the Injury. If he sends one that knows what he is a doing, he that do's the Injury is guilty. If one Man brings Fire, and another afterwards brings Wood to burn their Neighbour's Goods; he that brings the Wood is guilty, because he came last; and so *è contra*. If one brings Fire, a second Wood, and a third kindles the Wood; he that kindles the Wood only is guilty, because he comes last. If the Wood is set on Fire by the Wind they are all free. Now it is certain, that in these Cases he that comes last actually do's the Mischiefⁿ.

In these, and such like Instances, the Law is only strained, and by too rigid an Adhesion to the Letter, is made unjust. The next Instance directly contradicts the Letter of the Law; the Command is positive, "If any Mischief follow [when Men strive with one another] then thou shalt give Life for Life, Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, Burning for Burning, Wound for Wound, Stripe for Stripe," *Exod.* xxi. 23, 24, 25. This is again repeated *Levit.* xxiv. 19, 20. "If a Man cause a Blemish in his Neighbour, as he hath done, so shall it be done unto him; Breach for Breach, Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth; as he hath caused a Blemish in a Man, so shall it be done to him again." So also in *Deuteronomy*, the true divine *Misna* of the Law of Moses, *Deut.* xix. 21. it is repeated again in these Words, "Thine Eye shall not pity, but Life shall go for Life, Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth, Hand for Hand, Foot for Foot." Now it is impossible to make any thing plainer than what in this Law, which is thus often repeated, is particularly set down. Yet all this is solved by pecuniary Punish-

ⁿ *Ibid.* vi. 4.

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ments; and the way how Damages of this sort are estimated, is punctually described in this *Misna*, which I shall produce at length.

“ When a Man wounds his Neighbour, the Estimation of the Damage is made five ways. For *the Damage* [itself], for *the Pain*, for *the Cure*, for *Loss of Time*, and for *the Shame*. For *the Damage*, If a Man puts out his Neighbour's Eye, or cuts off his Hand, or wounds his Foot, the Sufferer is considered as a Slave that is sold in the Market; and the Prices of the Slave sound, and the same Slave maim'd, are computed [and the Difference of the respective Values is the Compensation for the Loss of the Limb]. For *the Smart*, they consider how much such a Man may be willing to take to have his Nail wounded with a Spit or a Nail, which leaves no Scar. *The Cure* must be paid by the Person that did the Injury. If Pustules arise from the Wound's [not being cured] he must pay for their Cure; if they do not arise from the Wound, he is free: If it is healed, and breaks out again, he must pay [for completing] the Cure; if it was compleatly cured, he is not obliged to pay [for any farther] Cure. For *Loss of Time* the Patient is considered as if he kept Cucumbers, because he is already paid for his Hand or his Foot. *The Shame* is estimated with regard to the Person who did it, and the Person who receiv'd the Affront. If one affronts a naked Man, or a blind Man, or one that is asleep, he is obliged [to make Satisfaction.] If one that is asleep do's an Affront [to another] he is free. If a Man falls from the Roof [of a House] and both injures and affronts [another,] he must compensate for the Injury, and is free as to the Affront; because it is said, *and putteth forth her hand, and taketh him by the Secrets.* (*Deut. xxv. 11.*) No
“ Man

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“ Man makes Compensation for an Affront that did
“ not design it °.”

Whoever now compares this *Misna* with the written Laws upon these Heads, will see that much of it is founded upon gross Prevarication; and yet the *Talmudists* are so fond of this way of making Satisfaction upon these Heads, that *Maimonides* says the *Jews* had it traditionally from *Moses*; so that if a Prophet who should derive his Mission from God, should pretend to bring these things back to the Letter of those Laws, he ought to be strangled. These Instances are sufficient to prove that the *Misnic Traditions* cannot come from God: For whatsoever is either essentially unjust, or contradicts any written divine Law, where we have not an Authority equal to that which enacted it, to warrant such a Contradiction, cannot be of divine Authority.

What I have hitherto produced are *Traditions*, not *Constitutions of the Doctors*, to which they themselves (as I have proved in another place) do not pay so great a Deference as they do to the Law. One wou'd think then, that in their *Constitutions* they should have been more modest; and yet sometimes in these they took an amazing liberty with the Law, considering that they neither could, nor did pretend to *Infallibility*; which, according to their Principles, belong'd only to *established Traditions*. Of this I shall give but one Instance, but it is such a one as will sufficiently prove what I design.

This is that *Constitution* which the elder *Hillel* made, which he called *Prozbol*. Mr. *Guise* derives the Word ^q from the *Greek* πρὸς βελβλάς, *Security taken before a Judge*. The nature of this *Security* was this: The Law commanded Debts contracted be-

° *Bab. Kam.* viii. 1.
Shebiith x. 3.

p *Vide supra.* pag. 9.

q *Not. in*

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tween *Israelites* to be remitted every seventh Year ^r; and this is confirmed by the Threatning that God denounced against those who were unwilling to lend towards the end of that Term, for fear of losing what they lent, when they could afterwards not legally challenge it. Now the *Misna* tells us, that when *Hillel* saw that Men were backward to lend at such a Time, he contriv'd the *Prozbol* ^f, by means of which the Creditor could recover his Debt when he pleased, notwithstanding the *Law of Remission* at the end of every Seventh Year. The manner was this, The Creditor went to the Judges, and deliver'd them a Writing in this Form: *I deliver to you who are Judges in such a Place [this Writing, to testify] that whatsoever Debt is due to me, I will demand whensoever I please; and then the Judges, or [other] Witnesses, sign'd it* ^v. This Writing, so attested, they called *Prozbol*. What *Hillel* here required was, that the *Prozbol* should be given before the Debt was contracted. This was a flagrant Breach of the Law, and a very needless one, according to their own Principles, because they had a *Tradition* which enabled them to do the same thing without it. This Tradition was, that if the Writings which specify'd their Debt were delivered to the Council, the Debtor could not re-enter at the end of the seventh Year; but if they were not deliver'd to the Council, the Debt was then discharg'd ^u. This they found upon *Deut. xv. 3.* where the Law says, *That which is thine with thy Brother, thine Hand shall release. Thine, i. e. in thy own Custody:* But when the Writings were deliver'd to the Council, then the Property was alter'd, and the Council became Guarantees of the Debt.

^r *Deut. xv. 2.*

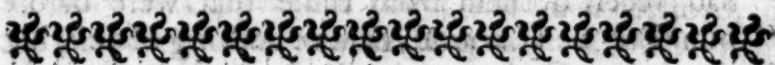
^v *Ibid. x. 1, 2.*

^f *Shebiith x. 2.*

^t *Shebiith x. 4.*

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This last Evasion lets us into the whole Mystery of the Traditional Law of the Elders. There appears in every part of it a wonderful Desire of being scrupulously exact in the most particular Niceties that related to the Law, and the Letter of it was most strictly kept to: And yet at the same time while they seem'd to adhere to the minutest Punctilio's of the written Text, they found ways to break it, when their Interest, or their Inclinations interfered: And where they determin'd to oppose the Law, right or wrong, a *Constitution of Moses from Mount Sinai* did the Business. This fully appears by our blessed Lord's description of their Hypocrisy and Injustice in the Gospels; and it is exactly verif'd in the *Misna* itself, as we have already seen.



CHAP. VI.

Arguments of the Caraites against the Oral Law.

HE Arguments which I have hitherto produced, both negative and positive, are as I apprehend demonstrative *against the Existence of an Oral Law*, delivered by God to *Moses* upon Mount *Sinai*. This has been a very ancient Controversy among the *Jews*, ever since the *Pharisees* started their Pretensions to an *Oral Law*, which the *Caraites* never allow'd, but always acquiesced in the Letter of the Law; which, rightly understood, they judg'd to be sufficient to determine their Practice in any Case which cou'd possibly come
F 4 before

before them. *Jacobus Triglandius*^a has given us a fine Specimen of the way of Reasoning of the modern *Caraites* upon this Argument, out of the Writings of one *R. Caleb*, an eminent Teacher among them. The Sum of what *R. Caleb* says is this.

“ The Reasons why the *Caraites* have divided
“ from the *Rabbanists*, are these three.

“ I. The *Rabbanists* say that many Things were delivered orally to *Moses* from Mount *Sinai*, which
“ were not written in the Law. These he delivered
“ to *Joshua*, and he to the Elders, and they to those
“ that came after them, one Generation after another; and these were thus orally delivered, till this
“ [Oral] Law was [in danger of being] forgotten,
“ and then the Men of the Age thought it proper
“ to write them with Ink in a Book, as every Man
“ had receiv’d them from those that were before
“ him. But we [*Caraites*] believe nothing of this, but
“ that what God gave in charge to him that was
“ faithful in his House, that is all written in the Law;
“ because it is written, that they should keep his
“ Commandments and his Statutes that are written in
“ this Book of the Law^b: And *Joshua* was commanded, that this Book of the Law should not depart out
“ of his Mouth. And again, that he should observe
“ to do according to all that was written therein^c.
“ And again the King was commanded, To write
“ him a Copy of this Law in a Book, and also to keep
“ all the Words of this Law^d. And besides these
“ Passages there are others, which shew that there
“ was not one Precept orally delivered which was
“ not written, nor any other [binding] to us but

^a *Diatrib. de Sectâ Karaeorum, cap. ix. pag. 117, 118.*

^b *Deut. xxx. 10.* ^c *Josh. i. 8.* ^d *Deut. xvii. 18, 19.*

“ the Written Law, which we have received from
“ the Blessed God.

“ II. The *Rabbanists* say, that what is written
“ in the Law stands in need of a [*Traditional Expli-*
“ *cation*, or] *Cabbala*, which they give us accord-
“ ing to their own Fancies: But we [*Caraites*] be-
“ lieve otherwise, and that whatsoever is written in
“ the Law carries its Explication along with it;
“ and if the Text is more concise in some Places,
“ yet from others where it is more diffuse, its Sense
“ may be collected, and the Scripture leans upon an
“ understanding Man. Speech is known to have an
“ Analogy to the Intention and Design of the Speaker,
“ otherwise there wou'd be no Advantage in Speech,
“ and it wou'd be in vain. And I wish I knew
“ what cou'd compel the Blessed God to write the
“ Law in a Style that [can] not be understood, by
“ those ways of Understanding by which Men come
“ to find out the Intention of a Writer, that so he
“ must be obliged to explain the Words of the
“ Written Law by an Oral Tradition. Is it not
“ written, *And Moses began to declare* [or explain]
“ *this Law*^e? And, *that the Law is perfect*^f. Where-
“ as if it needed an Oral Explication, there would
“ be nothing more imperfect than it: Besides, if
“ [written] Words will not explain the Mind of
“ him that [commands or] admonishes, then the
“ Person [commanded or] admonished may say, I
“ have done all that you bad me to do, whilst he un-
“ derstands the Words [of the Law] in a Sense dif-
“ ferent [from what they naturally bear.] This
“ holds as to the Meaning of [all] Commands,
“ Exhortations, or other Laws and Statutes that
“ are *Penal*. How can the Blessed God punish a
“ Transgression where he has not sufficiently decla-

^e *Dent. i. 5.*

^f *Psal. xix. 7.*

“red his Will and Intention to the Person that is to
 “take Warning? *Far be it from God, that he should*
 “*do Wickedness, and from the Almighty that he should*
 “*commit Iniquity* ^s. *Shall not the Judge of all the*
 “*Earth do right* ^h? *A God of Truth* ⁱ. *Who teacheth*
 “*like him* ^k? And if they say that their Tradition ex-
 “plains such Passages of the Law as want a precise
 “Explication, or may with Ease admit of contra-
 “dictory Senses; this proceeds from the Folly of
 “those that consider those Laws. For their Tra-
 “ditions are Explications plainly besides the Sense
 “and Meaning of the written Law; and [as I have
 “said] formerly, they sometimes contradict it, and
 “make it void: So that [such an Oral Law] can-
 “not be the true Meaning, or according to the De-
 “sign of the Blessed God, but Decrees and Allusi-
 “ons of their own.

“III. They say that the Law has given them leave
 “to add and to diminish in what relates to the Pre-
 “cepts and Admonitions therein contained, as the
 “wise Men of every Generation shall think fit; so
 “that if they shou’d decree the Right Hand to be
 “the Left, or the Left Hand to be the Right, [it
 “wou’d be valid.] But this we deny, because it is
 “written, *Ye shall not add unto the Word which I*
 “*command, neither shall you diminish ought from it* ^l.
 “And again, *Thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish*
 “*from it* ^m. And if there is any thing which we
 “are obliged to do, and to observe, which is not
 “plainly and explicitly written in the Law; or if
 “we think that what is written is not literally to be
 “observed, then we must make use of such Search
 “and Enquiry as will arise from the Law, and is
 “known by it, if Men will act judiciously. For

^s Job xxxiv. 10. ^h Gen. xviii. 25. ⁱ Deut. xxxii. 4. ^k Job
 xxxvi. 22. ^l Deut. iv. 2. ^m Deut. xii. 32.

“ the Law is given to wise Men, that they may
 “ bring one thing out of another; and this is no
 “ Addition or Diminution, but a Fence, and a Hedge
 “ that we may not fall into the Snares of Additions.
 “ For this is the Intention of the Law of God, and
 “ for this Reason we are admonished.”

R. Caleb gives us here a succinct, and in truth, a just Confutation of all the Grounds upon which the *Rabbanists* found the Authority of their Traditions. Besides these Arguments of *R. Caleb's*, *Triglandius* mentions a Dispute between *R. Shalmon the Son of Jeroham*, and *R. Saadiah Gaon* upon the same Questionⁿ. *R. Saadiah* brought seven Arguments to prove the Necessity of Oral Tradition; *R. Shalmon* makes these Answers. I. God commands Men to put *Fringes* (*Zizith*) upon their Garments, and that they should make *Tabernacles*, in which they were to live during the Feast so called; but he has not fixed the Measure of either of them. *Answ.* There was no Necessity of fixing the Measures of either of these in the Law: Time, and Place, and the particular Circumstances of the Families, and Conditions of Men, must determine them. II. The Quantity of the *Trumah* which every Man was to offer is not assigned. *Answ.* That was left undetermined to try every Man's Generosity. III. How could any Man tell which was the *Sabbath Day* without the help of Tradition? *Answ.* Men may know the Day of the Week wherever they live. IV. How can Men tell what *Vessels* will receive *Pollution* without Tradition? *Answ.* The Law determines that plainly enough to those who consider what it says *Levit. xi. 32. Whatsoever Vessel it be wherein any work is done.* V. Men are obliged to pray, but what, or what Numbers of Prayers they are to use, is not defined in Scripture. *Answ.* God says by his

ⁿ *Triglandius ubi supra*, p. 120, 221.

Prophet *Jeremy*, *Ye shall call upon me, and ye shall go and pray unto me, and I will hearken unto you*^o. Accordingly we have Instances of the Prayers of *Solomon*, and *Hezekiah*, and *Daniel*, and others in the Scriptures.

VI. How (*say the Rabbanists*) can we without Tradition tell the Number of Years which have past since the Destruction of the second Temple? *Answ.* What Text is there in the Bible which commands us to take pains about making a true Calculation of this Time? If there is none, the Pains that has been taken about it was to little purpose. VII. From Tradition only we can boast of knowing the *Term of our Redemption*, and the *Resurrection of the Dead*, which joins to it. *Answ.* We know that from the *Psalms*, the *Prophets*, and the *Seers*, without being obliged to the unstable Reasonings of the Traditional Men. This last is a very considerable Answer, and agrees with what our Blessed Lord himself declared to his Disciples that went to *Emmaus*, on the Day of his Resurrection, *That all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning me*^p. It is wonderful, that Men that could judge so rightly of the Sense of the Scriptures in this most important Article, did not go a little farther, which wou'd have carry'd them to the knowledge of the Truth.

These are the Answers which *R. Shalmon* made to the Objections of *R. Saadiah*. He produces besides, other Arguments of his own against this whole *Cabbalistic* Scheme, which were not urged by *R. Caleb*. I. The Integrity of the *Biblic Text* is own'd by *Jews* of all Persuasions. It is owned also by *Christians* and *Mahometans*, tho' neither the *Caraites* *Jews*, nor the Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, or *Mahomet*, acknowledge the Existence of any Oral Law that was ever given

^o *Jerem.* xxix. 12.

^p *Luke* xxiv. 44.

to *Moses*. What he says is true of the Christians, but I question it much of the *Mahometans*; because learned Men have observed that there are several *Talmudic Fables* in the *Alcoran*. II. The manner by which Traditions are introduced in the *Talmud*, is not the same with that by which God is introduced as speaking to *Moses* and the Prophets. There it is, *The Lord spake unto Moses, or unto Aaron, or the Word of the Lord came unto Jeremiah, or Ezekiel, and the like*. Here it is, *R. Jobanan says so, but R. Eliezer says so*; who all lived long after Prophecy was sealed up. Now, says he, none of these Men had the Holy Ghost residing among them. III. The *Style and Language* of the *Talmud* shew that it was written by Men that lived long after the Canon of the Bible was compleated. *Moses* and the Prophets always agree, but here we have perpetual Wranglings and Dissensions among the Doctors: *One affirms, another denies: One binds, another looses: One blesses, another curses*. This is repugnant to the Majesty and Dignity of God. *R. Shalmon* strikes here at the *Misna* and *Gemara*, the Authority of both which he equally disowns; but the *Misna* (which is only what we have now to do with) sufficiently confirms what he says. IV. If God had ever committed such an Oral Law to *Moses*, which he was forbidden to leave behind him in Writing; what Authority can the *Rabbanists* alledge that cou'd warrant their writing it down, when *Moses* was not allowed so to do? The doing this upon their Principles is an abominable thing, by which they have brought down the Anger of God against themselves.

It will not be difficult from hence to see upon what Principles these *Letter-Men* defended themselves against the *Men of the Cabbala*. The Acuteness of their Reasons shews them to be perfectly well able to maintain their Cause against their Adversaries: As to the Merits of the Cause itself, this must be said, that in many

ny Cases the *Pharisaical Traditions* were very rational; and when they were so, they certainly might be very laudably comply'd with. Their Fault lay in claiming a greater Authority to them than they cou'd justly warrant, and consequently in binding the Consciences of Men with Bands streighter than the Law required: Herein both sides were to blame; tho' they went upon different Principles; and if the Lawyer who spoke to our Lord, *Luke xi. 45.* who was not a *Pharisee*, nor for any thing that appears in the Text a *Sadducee*, was a *Caraita*, then we see that these Men could impose as great and as heavy Burthens upon the People as any of the *Pharisees*, if not greater; tho' it is certain that the *Caraites*, by their Principles, came nearer to the Kingdom of God than the others, as our Lord told one of them who asked *Which was the first and great Commandment in the Law?* I know this last Man is commonly supposed to have been a *Pharisee*, because *Matth. xxii. 34.* it is said, *When the Pharisees had heard that the Sadducees were put to silence, they were gathered together;* and then immediately one of them, a Lawyer, asked him a Question tempting him, and saying, *Master, Which is the great Commandment in the Law?* Them (αὐτοὶ) here were not *Pharisees*, for they (συνήχθησαν εἰς τὸ αὐτό) were gathered together, i. e. had withdrawn to consult what they should do upon this occasion, when they saw that *Jesus Christ* had put them, the *Herodians* and the *Sadducees*, to silence. This is the true meaning of those Words. Accordingly *St. Mark*, who calls this Man a *Scribe* (i. e. *Letter-Man*) do's not call him a *Pharisee*. Thus our Lord put the *Four* great Sects of the *Jews* to silence, in one Day, successively. The *Herodians* and *Pharisees* wanted to know whether they might lawfully pay Tribute to *Cæsar* or not? The *Sadducees* were inquisitive to know whose Wife the Woman shou'd be of the seven Brethren who had all had her to Wife, at the Resurrection? Then

comes

comes the *Scribe* (who own'd no Authority beyond or besides the written Law) and ask'd Which was the great Commandment in the Law? I owe this beautiful Interpretation of this Place to *Triglandius* ^q, and I think it is past dispute. This *Lawyer* deserves to be mentioned here, because he not only acquiesced in, but commended what our Lord had said in Answer to his Question; and as he was not one of those that were gathered together, and consequently had no share in those fatal Designs that were then in agitation; so we may reasonably suppose that the Bulk of the Jewish Converts, at the first preaching of Christianity, were Disciples of these Letter-Men, tho' there were many Pharisees among them: Yet these Lawyers were not without Blame, by reason of their laying heavy Burthens, and grievous to be born, upon the Shoulders of the People; tho' by their owning that the Signs of the promised Messiah were clearly to be found in the Books of the Psalms and the Prophets, they shewed themselves much more susceptible of the Doctrines of the Gospel, than any other Sect among the Jews.

^q De Sectâ Karaeorum, cap. 6.



C H A P. VII.

*Of the Usefulness of this Study to us
Christians.*

FROM what has been said already there can be no doubt of the great Advantages which may be made of an exact Enquiry into the most ancient *Jewish* Traditions. The *Rabbanists* tell us that *R. Juda* compiled the *Misna* about 120 Years after the Destruction of the second Temple, which falls in with the Time of the Emperor *Caracalla*. Some among them think it is older, and that it was written in the Time of *Antoninus Pius*: There is nothing in the Book itself which contradicts the highest Age; in truth there is nothing in that Book by which its Age can be determined; nothing in the Style, no mention of Names or Things, nor any other chronological Indiscretion occurs there by which it betrays a younger Date. This can be said of few Books besides; so that in the general we may affirm of both these *Epocha's*, that where there are not other extrinsic Reasons for which the account which any People give of things done among themselves, ought to be rejected, we ought not to deny our Assent to the historical Truth of what they say ^w. That the *Men of the Cabbala* (as the *Letter-Men*

^w Monsieur Reland in his curious Book very lately printed, *De Spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani*, has a very just Observation to this purpose. Speaking of the Account which the Talmudists give of the Form and Shape of the great Candlestick in the Temple, he says, "Non solemus quidem ea quæ de Formâ Vasorum sacro-
rum

Men always call them) from the Time of the *Macabees* downwards, were nicely exact in remembring their *Traditions* is not to be doubted; and that they have been since their *Dispersion under Hadrian* very negligent in examining into the History of other Nations, is equally certain. And it is natural to think, that when they saw the *Mosaic Oeconomy* quite abolished in their own Land, and themselves scattered over the face of the Earth, they wou'd take care to have a Body of their *Traditions* collected. And the great regard which has been paid to this *Collection* which they call the *Misna*, not only in *Palaeftine* but in *Babylonia*, in which two Countries their Schools were most numerous, shews it to have been very ancient. Its exact Agreement with the Accounts of these very Things that are preserved to us by the Evangelists, is still a farther Evidence of its Antiquity. And when we consider that there is not one single Instance of *Pharisaic* Fraud mention'd in the New Testament, but what can be directly proved out of the *Misna*, we need not doubt of its usefulness to us Christians.

Dr. *Lightfoot* has shewn what mighty Benefit may be reaped from these Enquiries, in his *Horae Hebraicae & Talmudicae*, upon many Books of the New Testament. I cou'd wish, however, that he had rang-

“ rum ab Antiquissimis Hebraeorum Doctoribus memoriae sunt
 “ prodita falsi arguere, aut negligere, si nec sacro Codici nec
 “ Rationi adversantur: & Fidem quam Historicam dicimus iis
 “ non negamus, quando ostendi non potest illos errasse. Di-
 “ stinguendum tamen arbitramur inter ea quae testantur fide
 “ Majorum, à Patribus & Avis per Manus tradita, & inter ea
 “ quae ipsi per modum Argumentationis aut sequelae eliciunt ex
 “ verbis Legis divinae. In illis non repugno quominus pro ve-
 “ ris habeantur, quae falsi argui nequeunt: in his disquirere o-
 “ portet quo jure ex Codice sacro rem ita se habuisse colligant.”
 pag. 48. Thus far this incomparable Man. What he says with a
 due Analogy may be properly apply'd to the Case before us.

ed his Authorities in another Method; for what can be immediately proved from the *Misna*, is of greater Authority than what must be fetched from the *Gemara's*: And what is quoted from them, has still greater weight than what we have from *Maimonides*, and the later Commentators. The first is the true *original Text of Jewish Traditions*, written by a Man that lived near the Apostolical Age; and the Doctors from whom *R. Juda* collected his Decisions, were all Men of the same Nation and Sect, who spoke the same Mother Tongue with the Apostles; so that his Writings and theirs being both upon religious Subjects, give one another a certain Light.

I wou'd not, by what I now say, be supposed to believe that the New Testament cannot be sufficiently understood to all the Purposes that are necessary to another Life, without an insight into the *Misna*; that is not my meaning: But as nothing is said by chance by those inspired Writers who were the blessed Instruments of transmitting to us those Truths, which only can make us wise to Salvation; so a curious Enquiry into the Reasons why even the seemingly least Things are not only said, but said in such a manner by those sacred Penmen, is both highly useful, and extremely pleasant: And what I have pointed at in several Places of this Work, besides what may be found in much greater Plenty in Dr. *Lightfoot's* Writings (who has left a great deal behind to exercise future Diligence) shew that the full and adequate Sense of very many Passages in the New Testament, cannot be thoroughly comprehended by one that is acquainted with none but Christian Interpreters who writ above 200 Years ago. This, if there were nothing else, is sufficient to reconcile learned Men, who wou'd gladly penetrate into sacred Truths, to these Enquiries; especially when they believe that there is nothing so little in the New Testament,

ment; but what merits their utmost diligence to search but.

But if we would dispute with the *Traditional Jews* (who are much the most numerous part of their Nation) at any Time, and endeavour to reclaim them from their Folly and Blindness, the Necessity and Advantage of this sort of Learning is still more notorious. The *Rabbanists*, who are the only *Jews* that come in our way in these parts of *Europe*, do all strictly adhere to the *Oral Law*. That they believe; that they study; by that they guide themselves as far as they can, in the Obedience which they pay to the *written Law*. Now when we can once shew them that the *Misna*, which is their Text, is in many Cases immoral and unjust; when we can demonstrate that it is impossible that the same righteous, and wise, and merciful God should give a *written Law*; and afterwards make that Law of none effect by subsequent, and *traditional Interpretations* (which have this essential defect; that they are more liable to corruption than any *written Text* whatsoever;), a great deal will be got towards bringing them to the Knowledge of the Truth. We have reason to believe that the Body of the *Jewish Nation* will, some time or other, be called into the common Sheepfold: If that Call should not be entirely miraculous (and what it will be, who can tell?) if human *Means* should be found wanting to convince those of their Mistakes, who shall then shew a Desire to be convinced; can any *Means* be so proper as a thorough Acquaintance with their *Traditions*; as well as with the *Text* of their *written Law*? Whilst they lay buried in their own Language, where few Christians cou'd have access to them, who cou'd understand them, or be the better for them? *These Cabbalistic Men*^a were, till of late,

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very

^a By Cabbalistic Men I mean no more than those that adhere to the Traditions of the Jews; so the Karaites always call them

(Baale

very shy of letting Christians into these Mysteries; and that shyness wou'd have still continued if it wou'd have stood them in any stead. But now, the Industry and Sagacity of many indefatigable Men in the last and present Ages, has in a great measure thrown open those Enclosures; so that it will be much less Labour for the learned Men of this Age to come at what remains behind, than it was for our Predecessors to attain to what they have already taught us. When every Thing is fully laid open, we shall be able to judge as well as our modern *Pharisees* themselves. Moral and religious Truths are of an eternal Nature; and when Men have once sufficient Premises, they can detect the Knavery, the Superstition, and the Hypocrisy which has so long blinded that miserable Nation, who otherwise have as clear Understandings as any People in the Universe: But then we must not expect that Men will be convinced by those that do not know what they have to say for themselves.

If one were obliged to dispute with a *Turk* or a *Moor*, who not only believes that *Mahomet* was a Prophet sent from God, who gave him a Body of written Laws, which the *Mahometans* call the *Alcoran*; but also that they have a *Sonnab* (which answers to the *Jewish Misna*) which contains an authentic *Traditional Explication* of the Text of the *Alcoran*: He would think himself indispensably bound to endeavour to understand not only the *Text of the Alcoran*, but the *Traditions of the Sonnab*. Then he might rationally propose to demonstrate *à priori* that that Law cou'd not come from God, because he cou'd then ap-

(Baale Kabbala) in their Writings קבל (Kibbel) is used always in the *Pirke Avoth* in that Sense, to receive any Doctrine from other Men that were before them, which they handed down or delivered to the Generation that succeeded.

ply himself to them in their own way. And when both Parties that dispute are endued with the same common Understanding, and both are instructed in the same Premises, they can join Issue without much Trouble. This is a good and a sufficient Reason, why the Text of the *Mahometan Law* shou'd be study'd by Christians, if there were no others of a very laudable Curiosity besides^x; but this is peculiar to the *Turks* and *Moors*. The *Pharisaic Law* has other Things to recommend it; we cannot, without it, thoroughly understand our own Bibles, and those Oracles of God with which the *Jews* were at first entrusted.

^x The famous Nicolaus Clenardus about 180 Years ago, when scarce a Scholar in all Europe cou'd read a word of Arabic, went to Fez on purpose to learn the Arabic Language, in order to put Christians into a Method to dispute with success against the Mahometans. His Notions of this matter are so well adapted to my purpose, that having so good and so judicious a Man's Authority, I shall transcribe some of them; especially since his Epistles, where they are to be found, are not in every Body's Hands.

" Hunc scopum studiis meis proposui, quòd ita crederem
 " me Fructum è capeffendis Linguis reportaturum, si eas accom-
 " modarem pietati. Mundus coepit Graecari & Hebraicari, sanè
 " ornamentum accessit hominibus studiosis. Verum si hac viâ
 " prorogata fuissent Christianae Religionis Pomoeria, vera gra-
 " tulandi esset occasio. Quando ergo in Arabismum revoluta
 " est mea peregrinatio, non me movit quòd Auctor diceret
 " professionis Arabicae, non ut Medicis operam praeberem re-
 " stituendo Avicennâ; aut Philosophis, corrigendo Averroë;
 " sed hoc tantum ante oculos fero, ut quemadmodum contra
 " caeteros Haereticos scribunt Latine, sic adversus Machome-
 " tistas stylum stringerem Arabicum. Id fieri non potest, nisi
 " illorum Dogmata penitus habeamus cognita; nec credamus
 " quid in Latiorum Libris de illis nationibus jactatum sit, sed
 " quod suis Libris illi ferunt; id arripiamus, & contra id Arma
 " capiamus. Praeter *Alcoranum* habent Libros *Sunnæ* tam ridi-
 " culos ut ipsi sese possint confutare, nisi persuasum esset *Ma-
 " chometum* fuisse Prophetam veracem. Ex iis depromenda
 " sunt, contra quae velis pugnare." *Clenardi Epp. p. 43, 44.*

This learned and good Man writ this Letter from Fez, in the Year 1541.

Of the New Testament I have spoken already; as to the Old the Case is still more evident. In order to set this in the clearest Light, let us consider that in the *Misna* we have a compleat Body of the ritual and ceremonial Law of the *Jews*, as it stood and was practised at the Destruction of the second Temple, by the whole Sect of the *Pharisees*. From the time of *Nehemiah* downwards, the *Jews* were zealous in the Obedience which they paid to that Law: They are not charged with Negligence upon that score. The noble Defence which the *Maccabees* made, for which *Simon*, a Brother of *Judas Maccabaeus*, was raised to the Sovereignty, which his Family held till the time of *Herod the Great*, shewed how affectionately zealous that Nation was, in doing what the Law required, all that Time. Under the Kings of the *Hasmonaean* Race, *Hyrchanus*, *Aristobulus*, and *Alexander Jannaeus*, the Study of the Law was exceedingly encouraged; and as they own'd their Advancement to the Zeal which their Ancestors shewed for the Law, so the Study of it was then very fashionable. Then began those Regulations which in future Times grew to such a Bulk; then *Synagogues* and *Academies* were first instituted; and I am very apt to think, with Mr. *Le Clerc*, that their *Sanhedrins* or *Councils* cannot well be carry'd up higher. And during that Period *Traditions* first became a Study; for the regular Succession of the *Misnic Doctors* in the *Pirke Avoth* go's no higher than *Simeon the Just*; and there is not any Opinion or Constitution in the whole *Misna*, of which the Author is cited, who lived before that Time. This (as I have observed elsewhere) is urged with great Justness against the *Rabbanists* by the *Karaites*: Now this Period of Time falls in with the *Macedonians*. *Antigonus Sochaeus*, the Disciple of *Simeon*, shews his Relation to that Countrey by his Name: Now tho' these *Traditions* contain a World of minute Things in themselves of little or no worth, yet since the Chain of the great
Laws,

Laws, on which these Traditions were properly Commentaries, was clearly preserved by these Men, the Laws themselves we may be sure of; and where there are any *Traditions* that do not thwart the written Text, they have a juster Pretence to be receiv'd, than any thing else that can be offer'd.

But tho' the *Study of Traditions* cannot be carry'd higher, in my Opinion, than the *Maccabees*^a, yet the Zeal for the Law, in its minutest Circumstances, may well be carry'd up as high as *Nehemiah*, and he was well assisted: *Ezra*, his great Instructor and Assistant in all his Regulations, was thoroughly versed in the Law. The *Jews*, during their Captivity, preserved many Memorials of the Rites and Usages which were practised whilst the first Temple stood: That appears from the Books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and the *Chronicles*. All that they so preserved was known to *Ezra*: What Authority is to be paid to his great Synagogue of 120, which ended with *Simeon the Just*, I know not, we have not any Authority ancient enough to determine it. That *Ezra* took the Advice of the ablest Men that came along with him from *Babylon*, we may be sure; and we need not question but what was then done, and what was added afterwards in the Regulations of the Service of God by the *Pharisees*, as far as it cou'd be remember'd, was carefully recorded in the *Misna*: So that in all Disputes concerning the Sense and Meaning of any of the Laws of *Moses*, next to the Text of the Old Testament itself, the *Misna* is one of the best Authorities we can appeal to.

I say one of the best Authorities. What I mean by that will be evident, when I have produced *Jos. Scaliger's* Notion concerning the original of the two

^a The *Karaïtes* bring it much lower; they make *Simeon* the Son of *Shetach*, who lived under *Alexander Jannaeus*, to have first brought it into a Science, and to have formed a distinct Set; so that all before were only a voluntary Society.

great Sects of the *Jews* in our Lord's time, the *Pharisees* and the *Sadducees*. He supposes that after the *Jews* returned from *Babylon*, (when the People were intent upon studying the Law, in order to obey it) they were divided into two great Parties, who lived for a good while very amicably together; one was the Party of the *Affidæans* mention'd in the Books of the *Maccabees*. These were desirous to obey the Law, not only according to the Letter, but to do something farther by way of *Supererogation*, that they might appear holier than the rest. These were *voluntarily devoted to the Law* (1 Macc. ii. 42.) and therefore called *Chafidim*, i. e. *merciful or pious Men*, who employ'd themselves, and laid out their Substance in Acts of Piety, more than the Letter of the Law exacted. These (*ἐκασιαζόμενοι*) were a *formed Society*; and as it was natural they shou'd, they joined as one Man with *Judas Maccabæus*, and of them *Alcimus* cut off threescore at one time. (1 Macc. vii. 16.) As long as they were only a *voluntary Society*, they did little Harm: But by degrees, as they encreased in Power, which they did under the *Hasmonean* Family, they not only multiplied their Traditions, but they exacted Obedience to those Traditions from the rest of the People; and living apart from other Men, were called *Pharisees*, as the Word imports. Besides these, there was a Party of *Letter-Men*, who kept strictly to the Letter of the Law, and deny'd the Authority of these Traditions. These who were coëval with the old *Affidæans*, were afterwards called *Karaites*; out of them rose the *Sadducees*, who impiously deny'd a future State, and the Existence of all incorporeal Beings. This *Scaliger*, out of his great Sagacity, started himself, only taking notice that *Philip Frederick*, a Convert *Jew*, who had conversed with many of them at *Constantinople*, solemnly averr'd to him, that they differ'd from the *Rabbanists* in nothing but their denial of the *Oral Law*. *Scaliger* had little to back him in his

his Assertion but his own Conjecture, so he stood long alone in this matter; and tho' several learned Men had demonstrated that the *Karaïtes* were not *Sadducees*, yet for want of sufficient Evidence from the Writings of these Men, what they said was little minded. But very lately *Jacobus Triglandius*, a learned Professor in *Holland*, having procured several of their Books against the *Talmudists*, has demonstrated beyond Contradiction what *Scaliger* had before nakedly asserted², who had seen nothing of their Writings, and had no *Rabbanist* of his side but *R. Abraham Zacuth*; who do's indeed own in his *Sepher Juchasin*, that the *Karaïtes* believe a Resurrection, and consequently are not *Sadducees*. Now *Triglandius* proves that the *Karaïtes* boast of being immediate Successors to the Prophets: That they and their Predecessors always believed another Life, and a Resurrection of the Just and Unjust: That they constantly opposed the Pretensions of the *Misnic* Men to an *Oral Law*, and profest to obey the Law as they found it in our Lord's time: That by the *Scribes*, who are mentioned as distinct from the *Pharisees* in the *New Testament*, in most Places where they are named, our Lord probably meant these *Letter-Men*, or *Karaïtes*, as the Greek Word *γραμματεῖς* may significantly enough be render'd.: That what our Saviour says of the *Lawyers* (*Luke xi. 45.*) who were certainly not *Pharisees*, may be very well apply'd to them: That they were called *Lawyers*, because they rigidly adhered to the Law, and profest so to do. This, and much more, we learn from *Triglandius* concerning these ancient *Karaïtes*. We are sure from the *Evangelists*, that there were other *Jews* that obey'd the Law in our Lord's time, besides *Pharisees* and *Sadducees*; and the large Cita-

² *Diatrib. de Sess. Karaeorum.*

tions which he produces out of their Works, agree perfectly with what we may suppose such Men in our Saviour's time wou'd say against the Traditions of the Elders; and when once their Polemical Writings (of which they have a good many) are published among us, we may expect to use them as historical Evidences, of the Sense of the Laws of *Moses*, and of the State of Religion in *Jesus Christ's* time, that will corroborate what we now have of the Writings of the *Pharisees*. This by the by.

I have indeed often observed, that in doubtful Cases where the *Misna* and *Josephus* have been both quoted by Christian Writers, the Authority of *Josephus* has prevailed, as if it was of the greater weight of the two; but sure it is a very unreasonable Prejudice, that learned Men have taken against every thing which is called *Talmudical*, that has made them so partial. *Josephus* was a *Jew*, so was *R. Juda*; there was not much above 50 Years difference between their Age. *Josephus's* Design was to cook up a palatable History of his own Nation for the *Romans*, who were Foreigners; and who had just before ruin'd their Countrey, overturn'd their Polity, and destroy'd their Temple. That Design he exactly pursu'd with far more Elegance than Fidelity, in many Cases, where he had the Text of the Old Testament to guide him: Whereas *R. Juda* wrote the *Misna* purely for his own Countreymen, and it was immediately receiv'd as it is to this very Day by all the *Pharisees*, who are much the most numerous part of the *Jewish* Nation throughout the World. In all Questions, therefore, wherein their Accounts differ, there seems to me, *caeteris paribus*, to be greater Reason to rely upon *R. Juda*, than upon *Josephus*.

I am aware of one Objection to the Antiquity of the *Misna*, which is not without its weight, and therefore deserves to be carefully consider'd; that is,
it

if this Collection of the *Jewish* Traditions be so old as the *Jews*, and we from them, pretend, how comes it about, that the ancient Fathers, and particularly *St. Jerome*, who was so very knowing in the *Jewish* Learning, and who had study'd *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* on purpose to translate the Old Testament into *Latin*, shou'd none of them mention this Book? They not only never quote it, but they scarce seem to know that there ever was such a Book written. In Answer to this I wou'd observe,

I. As to *St. Jerome*, (whatever *Morinus* says to the contrary, who, in his *Exercitations*, has taken abundance of pains to run down the Antiquity of *Pharisaic Traditions*) he was so far from being unacquainted with the *Misna*, that he mentions it in two Places. In his *Commentary upon Isaiab viii.* and in his Letter to *Algasia*. And in both Places he mentions it in such a manner, as shews that if he had not seen the Book itself, yet he was very well instructed in the Nature of it. The first Passage is upon these Words of *Isaiab* (*Is. viii. 14.*) *But for a Stone of stumbling, and for a Rock of offence to both the Houses of Israel.*

“ The *Nazaræans* (who receive Christ in such a manner, as not to lay aside the Ordinances of the old Law) interpret these *two Houses* of the *Families* of *Shammai* and *Hillel*, from whom came the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*. *R. Akibas* (whom they suppose to have been the Master of *Aquila the Proselyte*) govern'd the School of these [last], and after him *Meir*, who was succeeded by *Johanan the Son of Zachaeus*. After him was *Eliezer*, and then in order *Delphon*, [*MSS. Telphon*] and then *Joseph the Galilaean*, and *Josuah* to the *Captivity of Jerusalem*. Now *Shammai* and *Hillel* arose in *Judaea*, not long before the *LORD* was born; the former of whom was called the *Scatterer*, and the other the *Profane Person*, because by their *Traditions*, and secondary
“ *Laws*,

“ Laws, they scattered and defiled the Commandments of the Law ^a.

In his Epistle to *Algasia* who had enquired about the Traditions of the *Pharisees*, he says, “ How numerous the Traditions of the *Pharisees* are, which are now called *secondary Laws*, and how very truly they are old Wive’s Fables, I cannot particularly explain: For neither the Greatness of the Book will give me leave, nor the Filthiness of the Matter, which is such in many Places, that I am ashamed to speak it ^b.

I wou’d ask now any Man living that knows what these Words mean, if he can possibly think that St. *Jerome* had never heard of the *Misna*; do’s not *ἀδελφώεις* literally answer to *Misnaioth*? Besides, the *Succession* of the *Misnic* Doctors, which he gives us from the *Nazarasans*, agrees so well with the *Succe-*

^a *Isai. viii. 14. ad haec Verba, In Lapidem autem offensionis, & in Petram scandali, duabus Domibus Israëlitis]. “ Duas Domus Nazaraei (qui ita Christum recipiunt, ut observationes Legis veteris non amittant) duas Familias interpretantur, Sammai & Hillel: ex quibus orti sunt Scribae & Pharisei: quorum suscepit Scholam Akibas, quem Magistrum Aquilae Profelyti autumant: & post eum Meir; cui successit Johanan F. Zachai; & post eum Eliezer, & per ordinem Delphon [MSS. Telphon] & rursum Joseph Galilaeus, & usque ad Captivitatem Jerusalem Josue. Sammai igitur & Hillel non multo prius quam Dominus nasceretur orti sunt in Judaea: quorum prior Dissipator dicitur, sequens Profanus, eò quod per Traditiones & ἀδελφώεις, suas Legis Praecepta dissipaverit atque maculaverit.” Hieron. in locum. What St. Jerome says of Shammai’s being called Dissipator and Hillel Profanus, is a sort of a Quibble. Shamam in Hebrew is to make desolate, and Halal signifies to be mad. To that it is that St. Jerome here alludes, for which Reason I suppose it shou’d be dissipaverint and maculaverint; for it is certain that the last Clause of the Sentence relates to Shammai as well as Hillel.*

^b “ Quantae Traditiones Pharisaeorum sint, quas hodie vocant ἀδελφώεις, & quam aniles Fabulae, evolvere nequeo. Neque enim Libri patitur Magnitudo, & pleraque tam turpia sunt, ut erubescam dicere.” Hieron. ad *Algasia*.

tion that *Maimonides* has preserved to us in his Preface to the *Seder Zeraim*, that it is impossible that coincidence cou'd have happened by chance; and *Morinus*, as partial and perverse as he shews himself in this Dispute, wou'd hardly venture to assert that *Maimonides* copy'd from *St. Jerom.* Now this great *Rabbi* in his Account of the *Misnic* Doctors, before the Destruction of the second Temple, says that *Shammai* and *Hillel* lived together in the seventh Class from *Simeon the Just*: Then in the second Class, after the Destruction of the second Temple, he places *R. Akibas*, and in the third Class *R. Meir*^c. He says also that *R. Johanan*, the Son of *Zaccai*, was *Hillel's* Scholar; and *R. Eliezer* Scholar to *R. Johanan*, and *R. Tarphon* (who is undoubtedly the same with *St. Jerome's* *Telphon* or *Delphon*) was not *R. Akibas's* Scholar, but Companion; but *R. Meir*, and *R. Simeon*, the Son of *Jochaeus*, were his Scholars^d, and for *R. Meir* he quotes the *Misna*^e. From hence it is plain that the *Nazaraeans* in *St. Jerome's* time knew of the Chain of those Traditions. To say they were Hereticks in this case, is to say nothing: This is a matter of Fact of which a Heretick might be as good a Judge as any other Man; and what they say of the Houses of *Shammai* and *Hillel*, being what in the New Testament are called *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, agrees perfectly well with the claims of the modern *Karaïtes*, who derive themselves from *Shammai*, and the *Rabbanists* from *Hillel*^f.

What

^c *Maimon. Praefat. in Sed. Zeraim. pag. 49.* ^d *Ibid. pag. 50.*

^e Verum quod dicit in *Misnâ*, nomine *R. Ishmaëlis* dixit *Discipulus quidam coram R. Akibâ* [intelligendum] *est de R. Meir.* *Ibid. pag. 51.*

^f "Ita se prodit [*Hieronymus*] jam tunc aliquo modo novisse, quod non pauci Doctorum hodieque ignorant: plures saltem *Karaeos* Sectae suae Antistitem & Fautorem *R. Shammai*, quem admodum *R. Hillel* *Phariseorum* habere & ostentare. *R.*

What St. Jerome says in his Epistle to *Algasia* is equally material; there are many trifling, and many filthy Things in the *Misnic Traditions*, which he here again calls *ΔΔεγώρεσις*, *secondary Laws*. And these might well be called *profane and old Wive's Fables*, and such as well deserved his Censure: His hinting at them, and his mentioning the Bulk of the Book, (which is something bigger than the New Testament) makes me imagine that he had seen the Book itself. Whether he had seen it or not, cannot from these Passages be certainly proved, nor is it material. That he knew there was such a Collection is certain, and that is enough to my Purpose. The Chain in the *Pirke Avoth*, which is carry'd down with great exactness by *Maimonides*, agrees with what the *Nazaræans* told St. Jerome; and the filthy and impertinent things which he was ashamed to write to *Algasia*, may very well be apply'd to what may still be seen in the original and authentick Text of the *Misna* itself.

II. That after the *Destruction of the second Temple* the Christians and the Jews had very little Commerce. The *Pharisees* from the Crucifixion of our Lord till that time, seemed to have stood Neuters, upon the

“ *Moses Beshixi Karaeus* in Libro MS. *Matte Elohim*, *Quandoquidem nos Karaei pariter innitimur & sustentamur, a R. Shammai, & domo Judicii ejus. . . . Sed Rabbanitae [Doctrinam] acceperunt ab R. Hillel seniore, & Domo Judicii ipsius. Haec mens Nazaraeorum dum scripserunt, Scribas (Textuarios) à Shammai; ab Hillele Phariseos oriundos; quae si fuerat bene perspecta, ab immeritâ eos Censurâ liberâisset. . . . Quod verò haec Eruditissimus Pater hauserit à Nazaraeis fidem mihi non elevat, sed roborat magis: qui Testes *ούχ οἰκογενεῖς*, & domestici, adeoque multò meliùs, quam quisquam Recentiorum, sunt Judaïcorum gestorum periti. Sint Haeretici, errantes in Doctrinâ Libertatis Evangelicae, quid tum? An ideo mox mentiuntur in Patriâ Historiâ? Fuerint, ut sanè fuerunt Judaizantes, tantò minùs hoc Jesaïae Stigma propheticum celeberrimis & maximis Judaeorum Doctoribus vel temere, vel falsò, inusserunt.” *Triglandius de Sectâ Karaeorum. p. 70, 71.**

Christians

Christians owning their fundamental Article, that distinguished them from the *Sadducees*, which was the *Resurrection of the Just, and of the Unjust*. There are no Instances in the *Acts of the Apostles* of their opposition to Christianity after our Lord's Resurrection. The *Sadducees*, who had then the greatest Power, and who had the High Priest on their side, persecuted St. Peter and St. John, *Acts* iv. and their Rage was stopt by Gamaliel, the Prince of the *Sanhedrin*. When the *Pharisees* joyn'd in the common Cry against St. Paul, upon his last being at *Jerusalem*; tho' they were as loud as the rest at first, yet as soon as they heard him solemnly declare, *That for the Hope and Resurrection of the Dead he was called in Question*; they readily stood by him, and openly profest, *That they found no evil in him; but if a Spirit or an Angel had spoken to him, they ought not to fight against God*. *Acts* xxiii. 9. We find that there were believing *Pharisees* at *Antioch*, who (as it was natural to believe they shou'd) were for observing the Law of *Moses* strictly. But when the Apostles, and the Synod at *Jerusalem*, had decided that Question, they acquiesced in their Decision, at least we know nothing to the contrary.

Here, though it is a Digression from my Subject, I wou'd observe that we do not read of any one *Sadducee* that was ever converted to the Faith in the whole New Testament. Men that deny a future State, can believe little of Revelation; and for those who wilfully threw aside what *Jesus Christ* had to offer, by declaring their disbelief of a Resurrection, he may in some Sense be said not to have come: He came, indeed, to condemn them, since they would not hearken to his admonitions, but no more. These Men were either *Atheists*, or what we now commonly call *Deists*. If God withdrew his Grace from them, that they shou'd

not believe and be saved, it was but a just Judgment upon them for their Infidelity, in not adhering to *Moses* and the Prophets, who plainly spoke of a World to come. And when our Blessed Lord told them out of the Law, that God was the God of *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob*; and yet that he certainly was *not the God of the Dead but of the Living*^h, he reasoned with them out of a Book which they pretended to own, and consequently they were effectually put to silenceⁱ. Now on the other Hand, the *Pharisees* not only believed that the Law came from God, but that the *Prophets* were also inspired by him; and they (as their Successors the *Talmudists* do to this Day) stedfastly acknowledged and taught the Doctrine of the Resurrection: With them therefore our Saviour frequently ate and drank^k. *Simon* with whom he ate, *Luke vii.* was certainly a *Pharisee*; so was *Nicodemus*, who was a Teacher among them; who, tho' he did not publicly own our Lord, when he was alive, yet when he was taken off from the Cross, joined with *Joseph of Arimathaea*, and brought 100 l. weight of Myrrhe and Aloes to bury him. The Cost of these Spices shew'd the great Honour he had for *Jesus*, the greater because it was shew'd at that time. *Joseph* too, his Partner, was a Counsellor, and probably a *Pharisee*, because he join'd with *Nicodemus*, who waited for the Kingdom of God as well as he^l. We cannot suppose that

^h *Exod. iii. 6. collat. cum Matth. xxii. 32.*

ⁱ Here again we must distinguish between the true Letter-Men, the old *Karaites*, and the *Sadducees*. The Letter Men receiv'd the whole Old Testament, and carry'd up the Chain of their Tradition as high as *Moses*, through the Prophets. The *Sadducees* receiv'd the Law, because they durst do no otherwise, and because the Promises of another Life there contained were weak, and, as they thought, disputable; but then they did not receive the Prophets, who spoke more clearly of those things.

^k *Luke vii. 36. Luke xi. 37.*

^l This Phrase of waiting for the Kingdom of God, which is used concerning *Joseph of Arimathaea*, by *St. Mark* (*Mark xv. 43.*) and

that these were all of that Sect who believed in Jesus when he was alive; and we know that there were others of them besides St. Paul, who believed in him after he was ascended up into Heaven. It is probable then, that when they saw he was actually risen, and that Miracles were wrought by his Disciples in his Name, the Body of them, with their Master Gamaliel, stood still, waiting to see where these things wou'd end, and that many of them were actually converted. It is likewise not unlikely, that the astonishing *Conversion of St. Paul* did not a little contribute thereunto; for the Men that were with him *heard the Voice* that spoke to him out of Heaven, and *led him by the Hand, and brought him into Damascus*^d. That the Pharisees never hated him, is plain from *Acts xxiii*, and we see that upon all occasions he spoke of that *straitest Sect of their Religion*^e, (which he calls the *perfect manner of the Law of the Fathers*, in which *he had been brought up at the Feet of Gamaliel*^f) with great Honour.

If we examine the Evangelists carefully, we shall find, that it was not so much the Sect of the *Pharisees*, simply considered as such, that our Lord found fault with, as the Hypocrisy, the Knavery, the Oppression, and the Cruelty of many of its Members which he so severely rebuked: For *Matth. xxiii. 2, 3.* our Saviour told the Multitude, *That the Scribes and*

and St. Luke (*Chap. xxiii. 51.*) is also used by St. Luke with very little variation of Simeon, whose noble *nunc dimittis* is preserved by that Evangelist to his Honour. He is said to have waited for the Consolation of Israel, *Luke ii. 25.* He is supposed, with great probability, by very learned Men, to have been not only a Pharisee, but Prince of the Sanhedrin at that time, and the Father of Rabban Gamaliel, St. Paul's Preceptor. That he was a Pharisee we cannot question, when we consider that he was descended from Hillel, who was the great Patriarch of their Sect.

^d *Acts ix. 7, 8.*

^e *Acts xxvi. 5.*

^f *Acts xxii. 3.*

Pharisees sat in Moses's Seat. All therefore, said he, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their Works: for they say and do not &c. And this is introduced by St. Matthew as a Preamble to the severest Discourse against the vile and hypocritical Practices of all these Doctors that is in the Writings of the Evangelists. The original Design of the most ancient *Pharisees*, who are said to have been Disciples of *Antigonus Socheus*, seems to have been very laudable: The Abolition of the Temple Service, and the subsequent Persecutions under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, shewed them the many Dangers to which they and their Religion were perpetually exposed. They saw how severely their Forefathers had been punished for their Idolatries by the *Babylonians*. Prophecy was now ceased, so that they had no Prophet to expect till that Prophet shou'd come, whom from *Daniel's* computations, they knew when they were to expect: Therefore that they might be ready to receive him as they ought, when once he should ap-

& I do not think (as I said before) that the Scribes here were the same with the Pharisees, I rather take them to have been the old Karaites; but the Division was not so high then, as to break out into an open Schism. They joined together at that time in all judicial Acts, as our Whigs and Tories do now, in our Parliaments, and Courts of Justice. It is in Truth a Question, whether the Schism was fully formed before the sealing up of the Talmud, which was 500 Years after; yet they both upon different Principles laid heavy Burthens upon the People. The Scribes or Letter-Men interpreted the Letter of the Law with the utmost rigor, and that in many Cases might be extremely burthensome. The Pharisees, when they had a mind to soften any thing, cou'd bring a Tradition to back their Explications. Thus both fell into great Abuses, in order to extol themselves in a different way. The Karaites claim *Shammai* for their Patron, and the Pharisees *Hillel*: And the Talmudists tell us that *Hillel's* Decisions, which generally stood, were the easier of the two. This Discovery which we owe to *Triglandius*, who fully proves it out of the original Writings of the Karaites, will explain abundance of Things in the Misna, concerning which we were before in the dark.

pear,

pear, they bedged in the Law as streightly as they cou'd, that they might keep Men far from Transgression. Thus far, I say, their Design was laudable; but when self-interested Men got in among them, the whole was so vilely perverted, that they justly deserved those severe Animadversions from that divine Teacher of Mankind which we see they met with. Those Rebukes, when they saw him risen again, very probably had their weight; our Lord, however, never shunned their Company, though we never find him eating with the *Sadducees*; whom, for their disbelief of that main Principle which he chiefly came to establish, he seems entirely to have abandoned to their own vile Opinions. And this I take to be the real Reason, why when he said so much against the *Pharisees*, he said so little, comparatively speaking, against them: *He came to seek and to save that which was lost*, but not those that would never be found: And the religious part of the *Jewish* Nation had a Reverence for the seeming Piety and Strictness of the *Pharisees*, among whom there were undoubtedly many very honest Men; whilst they cou'd not possibly have any inward regard for the *Sadducees*, who by taking away the Belief of another Life, robbed them of their chiefest and most valuable Hope.

I have now but one Word to add upon this Subject, which is, that *Josephus* was a *Pharisee*; and it is observable that he never spoke against the Christians in any of his Writings; and if that famous Passage concerning *Jesus Christ* be genuine, he seems to have been not far from the Kingdom of God. I have not time here to examine into that Question, only thus far it is certain, that his silence concerning the Christians is agreeable to the Conduct of the rest of his Sect, as it is described by St. *Luke* in the *Acts of the Apostles*.

Thus Things stood between the Christians and Jews, till the Destruction of the second Temple: But

then, when the whole *Jewish* Oeconomy was dissolved, all Christians, *convert Jews*, as well as *Gentiles*, (except just the Sect of the *Nazaræans*, who do not ever seem to have been very numerous) saw, that when the Prophecies of our Lord against *Jerusalem*, and the *Holy Place*, were punctually fulfill'd in the most dismal and terrible manner, there was an entire end put to any future Obligation to the Law of *Moses*: That broke off all Commerce between them and the *Jews*, who still vainly expected a *Messiah*. Their running after *Barcoziba* in *Hadrian's* time, whose Pretensions to the *Messiah*-ship were supported by the famous *R. Akibas*, drew upon them Afflictions equal, if not superior to those which their Fathers had suffered under *Titus*: But then these Persecutions which they endured for adhering to an *Antichrist*, alienated them and the Christians the more. They who still looked for a *Messiah*, whom the Christians believed to be already come, erected *Academies* of their own at *Tiberias*, under *Antoninus Pius*, a good natur'd and compassionate Prince (whose tenderness for the *Jewish* Nation, their own Writers do very highly extol;) which *Academies* continu'd in *Judæa* for some Ages. One of the first Things of great Moment which they did in this sorry Settlement, was to draw up the *Misna*: When that was done, the Doctors continually argued and disputed upon it both there and in *Babylonia*; but that was writ in *Hebrew*, a Language the Christians had then little need of. Thus all their Learning was kept up among themselves: The Christians used the Old Testament in *Greek*, in an ancient Translation, as old (of the *Pentateuch* at least) as *Ptolomee Philadelphus*, who was contemporary with *Antigonus Sochæus*. They had also some other *Greek* Translations made by *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*; besides one or two more, all written after *Jesus Christ*. With these they were contented, the *Traditions of the Elders* they seemed wholly to disregard,

gard, as useless to them, in order to understand the Analogy of Faith, when once the *Jewish Oeconomy* (during which they were necessary for many other purposes) was irrecoverably dissolved.

Thus, by imperceptible degrees, whilst the Christians made no Enquiry after the *Jews*, or their Amusements, the Memory of *Jewish Traditions* became in a manner entirely lost. No wonder then, if for above 1000 Years the Church knew very little of that which was in a manner the only Learning upon which the most considerable part of the *Jewish Nation* set any value. This will very well account for that silence which is discernible in the Writings of the *Greek and Latin Fathers*, upon this whole subject; though it will not lessen the Usefulness of these Traditions, or our Esteem for them now that Partition-Wall is in a great measure taken away, by the free Access which Christians have to whatsoever is most abstruse and mysterious in the Writings of the *Rabbins*.



C H A P. VIII.

Objections against the Usefulness of this Study answer'd. Mr. Gale's Arguments in his Answer to Mr. Wall's History of Infant Baptism consider'd.

FROM what has been said, the Usefulness of these *Talmudic* Studies to a Christian, may be plainly proved; and they have been accordingly employed to very noble purposes, in searching out the Originals of the most ancient Usages and Rites prescribed and practis'd in the Christian Church, by learned Men. *Campegius Vitranga* in his elaborate and useful Work *De Synagoga vetere*, has demonstrated that the publick Service and Government of the Churches planted by the Apostles was built upon the *Jewish Synagogue*. Those that have look'd the most narrowly into the Controversy concerning *Infant Baptism*, in this and the last Age, have justify'd the practice of the ancient Church in baptizing Infants from the manner of admitting Proselytes among the *Jews* in our Lord's time: That Practice he by his Command sanctify'd, when he instituted Baptism to be the standing Sacrament by which all Christians shou'd be enter'd into the new Covenant, as Circumcision was for the *Jews* under the old. This has been so clearly proved by *Mr. Selden*, and from him by *Dr. Hammond*, and after that by *Dr. Lightfoot*; not to mention other learned Men of our own, and other Nations, that what they

they have said upon this Argument has been generally acquiesced in. The Substance of their Reasonings has been with great Judgment digested and published in our own Language within these few Years by Mr. *Wall* in his *History of Infant Baptism*.

That Work of his, (which as far as it goes, which is for the first four Centuries after *Christ*, is by much the most finished Collection of Testimonies from Christian Writers, that has been made upon that Subject) he begins with an Introduction concerning the Customs in use among the *Jews* in receiving Proselytes. Some time after that Book appeared it was answered by Mr. *Gale*, who printed *Reflections upon Mr. Wall's History of Infant Baptism* in 1711. There with a great shew of various Literature, he makes it his Business to contradict whatsoever Mr. *Wall* says, and to enervate his Authorities for the first 250 Years after *Christ*.

My Business at this Time is not with what Christian Writers have said concerning *Infant Baptism* in the least. What Mr. *Gale* offers against making use of the Authority of the *Talmudists* in this Controversy, I am now to consider; and the clearing and adjusting of their Authority in this Case, will lead us to see how far they may be rely'd upon in other Cases of like nature. Now the Substance of what Mr. *Wall* says, after those whom I have before named, is this.

“ That all Proselytes were received into the Pale of
 “ the *Jewish Church*, by *Circumcision*, *Baptism* and
 “ *Sacrifice*, if they were *Males*; by *Baptism* and a
 “ *Sacrifice*, if *Females*. That Children born before
 “ their Fathers and Mothers became Proselytes, if
 “ they were under Age, were brought to Baptism
 “ by their Parents; if they were of Age, it was left
 “ to their own choice, whether they wou'd be Pro-
 “ selytes or no. If they were born after the Prose-
 “ lytism of their Parents, there was no need of Bap-
 “ tism. That those who were so made Proselytes,

“ were looked upon as *born again*; were supposed to
 “ have renounced their old Parentage, and to be as
 “ if they were entirely *new*. That this was so well
 “ known among them, that when *John the Baptist*
 “ baptized with the Baptism of Repentance, the *Pha-*
 “ *risees sent to ask him, why he baptized, if he were*
 “ *not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that Prophet* 8.
 “ That this Question wou'd have been impertinent
 “ and unintelligible, if it had not been a receiv'd
 “ Opinion among them, that Profelytes were ad-
 “ mitted by Baptism. That *John Baptist* accord-
 “ ingly told them, that he was not the *Christ*, but his
 “ forerunner. That since the Custom among the
 “ *Jews* then, was to admit Infants to be Profelytes
 “ by Baptism, and since great Multitudes came to
 “ *John Baptist* to be baptized, it is most likely that
 “ he baptized Children as well as Adults. That af-
 “ terwards *Jesus Christ* instituted Baptism to be the
 “ stated and unalterable Sacrament of Initiation, of
 “ all that should be admitted into his Church. That
 “ since he did not expressly exclude *Infants*, who
 “ were capable of being *Children of the Covenant*, i. e.
 “ *Disciples*, whom it was the receiv'd Custom of the
 “ *Jews* to admit, we have reason to believe that
 “ our Lord intended that they should be admitted to
 “ Baptism in their Infancy, because otherwise we
 “ may most probably suppose that they would have
 “ been directly, and by Name, excluded. And there-
 “ fore tho' we have no direct command for baptiz-
 “ ing Infants; yet since on the other side we have
 “ no Prohibition against it, and that *Paedo-Baptism*
 “ was certainly practised in the Catholick Church in
 “ the second Century, and universally in the third;
 “ and that Arguments were drawn from thence a-
 “ gainst the *Pelagians* in the fourth, we ought to

8 John i. 25.

“ conclude

“ conclude that it was an Apostolical practice, and
“ consequently obligatory to Christians in all the suc-
“ ceeding Ages of the Church.” This, as I appre-
“ hend, is the sum of Mr. *Wall's* Reasoning.

Now in the *Misna*, Title *Cethuboth*, where *R. Juda* treats of the Portions to be paid to Virgins, according to their several Ranks and Conditions, he says a PROSELYTE GIRL, who was made a Proselyte before she was three Years and a Day old, should have 200 Zuzae (a piece of Money so called) for her Portion^h. But if she was not made a Proselyte till she was above that Age, then she was to have but half so muchⁱ. This is all that *R. Juda* says. He knew that the meaning of the Word Proselyte was sufficiently plain to all his Countreymen, and so said no more; but when the *Gemarists* come to explain this, as they do every other particular in the *Misna* so far as they go, they give us sufficiently to understand that the Rite of making Proselytes of any Age was by ABLUTION. And here PROSELYTE-Girls of less than three Years and a Day old, being expressly mentioned, tho' for another Reason than that of explaining the Method how they were made so, it is plain that Infants were then admitted into the Covenant by Baptism, which is enough to our present purpose. And this it was that satisfied those very learned Christians who had formerly written upon this Subject.

Mr. *Gale* was sufficiently aware of the Force of this Argument, to prove the Jewish Use of Paedo-Baptism in the Apostolical Times, and being a Man of great Quickness and Art, thought it worth his while to elude its Force by all the ways he could.

(h) הגיורת והשבויה שנפדו ושנתגיירו פחותות מבנות שלש
שנים ויום אחד : *Cethuboth. l. 2.*

(i) הגיורת והשבויה שנפדו ושנתגיירו יתרות על בנות שלש
שנים ויום אחד : *Ibid. l. 4.*

In Answer therefore to it he says, that the time when those *Jewish* Authors lived, whom *Selden* and *Lightfoot* quote, is not near enough to the time when *Jesus Christ* lived, to ground a Thing of this Nature upon. "The *Mischna*, or Text of the *Talmud*, though much the ancientest Authority produced, is not wholly clear of this Exception; and if the Senses of the Places transcribed be fairly represented, at most it carries the matter no higher than to 150 Years after the Destruction of *Jerusalem* (which happened *A. C.* 70) *i. e.* 210 Years after *Christ* ^k." And again, "We are convinced by many Examples what 200 Years can do in such Cases. In the very Case of Baptism among ourselves in *England*, the manner of *Dipping*, in about one quarter of the time, was totally disused, and *Sprinkling* substituted in its stead, and urged as the most suitable way, and as lawful as the other which was more ancient ^l." Thus he states his Argument; which, how much he himself believed, appears from what he says afterwards in these Words. "From what I have already said, it's plain they have ALWAYS been exceedingly bigotted to their wise Men, their *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, especially the Members of their *Sanhedrim*, whose Assertions they are EVER ready to submit to with entire Resignation, and blind Obedience ^m." Here he expressly contradicts what he said before, and with due Allowances comes much nearer to the Truth.

In what he says at first he intirely misrepresents the *Jewish* Nation. The *Eastern People* have a natural

^k Gales *Reflect. on Mr. Wall's Hist. of Inf. Bapt* pag. 327.

^l Id. *ibid.* And again, "Where's the necessity to suppose the FANCIFUL Jews more constant and uniform in religious Matters than our selves? Their frequent and sudden Relapses into Idolatry, under their Judges and Kings, are Instances of a different Temper." *Ibid.* pag. 327, 328.

^m Id. pag. 346.

Steadiness (which when misapplied we may truly term *Obstinacy*) that leads them to follow the Customs of their Forefathers from Age to Age, with as little variation as can well be imagin'd. Those that treat of the Customs and Manners of the *Arabians*, unanimously observe it. Sir *John Chardin* tells us more than once in his *Travels*, that many of the most ancient Usages of the *Jews* and *Assyrians*, hinted at in the Old Testament, are still to be found among those *Eastern Nations* with whom he lived: And he somewhere promises to write a Discourse upon that Subject, which whether he lived to finish, or no, I know not. This Steadiness in adhering to the Manners of their Forefathers, is very remarkable in the *Jews*: They brought with them an *Inclination* to the idolatrous Customs of the *Gentiles* out of *Aegypt*: That *Inclination* was not cured by the Miracles which God wrought in their sight, or by the Punishments which they suffered in the Wilderness. When they came into *Canaan* it continued all the time of the Judges; and as fast as they were delivered from any one Enemy, when once their Deliverer was dead they relapsed into their ancient Folly. From the Days of *Eli* to the latter end of *Solomon's* Reign, they stood pretty well; but when once he had set them that fatal Example, by marrying Wives out of Idolatrous Nations, they fell back again; and the Prophets who were afterwards sent to reclaim them, did them very little good. This Propensity continued till *Nebuchadnezzar's* time. He transplanted the whole *Jewish Nation*, Root and Branch, into *Babylonia*, as *Sbalmanezzer* had done the *Israelites* before into *Assyria*, after he had burnt *Jerusalem* and the Temple; and there they were kept in Bondage 70 Years. That Affliction indeed had its proper Effect, especially when they saw themselves sent home by the Man of whom *Isaiah* had prophesied by Name near 200 Years before, and at the end of 70 Years, as *Jeremy* had also foretold.

told. When they had thus taken a different Turn, they adhered to that with the same Firmness and Resolution as they did to the former, in which they continue to this very Day; so that whatsoever Sins the ancient or modern *Jews* may be justly charged with, *Fancifulness* and *Inconstancy* come not within the List.

Under the *Maccabees* they sensibly found their want of Prophets to direct them, yet they yielded neither to the Force nor Persuasions of *Antiochus*, but did as well as they cou'd; and by weighing *Malachi's* Words, who had sealed up the Prophetick Gift, they very rightly judg'd that they were not any more to expect such Prophets as they formerly had, till that Prophet^m shou'd come. This led them to erect *Academies*, in which they might dispute about the Law. Then the two great Sects or Houses of *Letter-Men* (*Baale Mikra*) and *Traditional Men*, (*Baale Kabbala*) which in *Herod the Great's* time were headed by *Shammai* and *Hillel*, were first formed. The *Opinions* of those *Scribes* whom each Party thought the ablest, were receiv'd with mighty Reverence: These *Opinions* were handed down from one Generation to another, and so became in time to be called *Traditions*. And these were observed, right or wrong, by the *Pharisees* in *Jesus Christ's* Time. The Conformity of those *Traditions* which we find in the *Misna*, with what is related concerning them in the Evangelical History, is an unanswerable Argument, (where there are no positive Proofs on the other side to weaken its Force) for its being as old as the *Jews* say it is; we may safely therefore argue from the *Misna* to any Custom in use among the *Pharisees* in *Jesus Christ's* time. Now there we see Children made *Profelytes* under three Years old. The *Gemarists*, and from them the later Commentators, unanimously tell us this *Profelytism* was

^m See John i. 21—25.

made by Baptism. Whoever considers that the *Rabbanists* (who are the only *Jews* that we *Europaeans* have to do with) have ever since the *Misnic Doctors* first arose, steadily adhered to their Doctrines, will think the Authority of these Commentators in this Case sufficient. This is so visible, that *Dr. Lightfoot*, and indeed most other Christians who have been skilled in these Things have quoted *Maimonides* (or perhaps some later *Ritualists*) tho' he lived about 1000 Years after the *Misna* was written, as competent Authorities to ascertain any *Jewish* Traditions, as having found by long Experience, that they have faithfully represented the Sense of the ancientest Doctors that went before them.

In the Case before us, the *New Testament* and the *Gemara* give Light to one another: It will not be easy to understand the Reasoning of our Lord with *Nicodemus* (*John* iii.) thoroughly, unless we allow Baptism to have been the receiv'd way of admitting Proselytes among the *Jews*. Our Saviour first tells *Nicodemus*, that except a Man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God. (*John* iii. 3.) *Nicodemus* did not understand this. How (says he) can a Man enter the second time into his Mothers Womb, and be born? (v. 4.) This then our Lord farther explains in these Words, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a Man be born of Water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God. (v. 5.) And when *Nicodemus* stuck still and asked, How can these things be? *Jesus* answered, Art thou a Master of Israel, and knowest not these things? (v. 9, 10.) Which is as much as if he had said, Is it not the constant Doctrine of the Elders, that those that are by Baptism become Proselytes are born again? I tell you, you must be regenerated by Water, and not only by that, but by the Spirit; and then Baptism in my Name will introduce those that are thus regenerated into the Enjoyment of nobler and more durable Blessings than any you can promise to

To your Profelytes. Thus our Lord reasons. Had *Jesus* Christ mentioned only *Regeneration* by *Baptism* with *material Water*, *Nicodemus* wou'd have understood him perfectly; but that second and higher Birth, of which *Water-Baptism* was only typical, was what *this Master* could not understand.

What Mr. Gale therefore says of the *Misna's* being 200 Years later than *Christ*, signify'd little to the purpose to those that are acquainted with the tenaciousness of the *Jews* in adhering to the *Rites* and *Customs* of their Forefathers. And his arguing from the inconstancy of his own Countreymen (whom the Experience of the Men of this Generation sufficiently shews not to know when they are well, and even to love change for changing sake) signifies if possible, still less. And his direct Contradiction of what he had said before, when he owns that the *Jews* have ALWAYS been exceedingly bigotted to their wise Men, the Scribes and Pharisees, demonstrates that he himself thought so. All that Profusion of ill Language which he throws out upon the *Talmudists*, and in general upon the *Rabbins* on this occasion might have been very well spared. He knows very well why Dr. *Lightfoot* and so many other eminent Men among the Christians in this and the last Age make such use of the *Jewish Traditions*; to which when I have spoken something more largely, I may very well conclude this Discourte.

The Case then is this; our Blessed Saviour, considered as a Man, was himself a *Jew*, and his Apostles, by a Commission from him, after his Ascension, preached the Gospel to the *Jews*, his and their Countreymen, to whom the Oracles of God were at first committed. They had several Customs which were good and laudable, and many that were knavish and impertinent. They were however exceedingly bigotted to these Opinions without Distinction, as Mr. Gale rightly observes: When therefore the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*

was

was at first preached, as the Apostles constantly and undauntedly taught, that there was no other Name by which Men cou'd be saved, but the Name of the true *Messiah*, whom they had so long expected, and who was now come; so they judged it the readiest way to gain Converts, *to become all things to all Men*. What Customs among the *Jews* might be retained lawfully, they retained, only they sanctified them to greater and nobler Purposes. Of these *Baptism* was one; That our Lord retained, as being more general and more convenient than Circumcision, and as being typical of the Sanctification of the Spirit, and as having been commanded under the Law in all Cases of legal Uncleanness. Since therefore *Male Infants* were receiv'd into the *Jewish* Covenant by Circumcision, and *Female Infants* were made *Profelytes* in *Jesus Christ's* time by Baptism, we ought to believe that the Apostles baptized the Infants of their Converts, when we know nothing to the contrary; since from this receiv'd Custom among the *Jews*, we ought to conclude that Infants would have been expressly excluded, if such exclusion had been necessary. What Alterations were intended to be made by our Lord, he himself declared: He told *Nicodemus*, *That except a Man* (*τις i. e.* every one, without distinction of Sexes) *be born again, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God*. He there shews that Baptism was instituted for all Mankind, in opposition to their Doctrine who taught that Children of *Profelytes* born after *Profelytism*, needed not to be baptized. And the Apostles afterwards plainly declared, that Circumcision was abolished: The Exception then confirms the Rule, *i. e.* since the *Jews* made their Children *Profelytes* by Baptism, and *Christians* were not forbidden so to do, they ought to baptize Infants as well as Adults; else when the other Exceptions or Alterations were made, to distinguish *Christian* from *Jewish* Baptisms, this wou'd have been made as well as the rest.

When

When therefore Mr. Gale so often tells us, that the *Talmud* can be of no Credit or Authority at all, in those or equivalent Wordsⁿ, if he means, that the *Talmud* is not of Divine Authority, he says what no Christian, that I know of, will contest. If he denies, that in the *Misna* which is its Text, or in the *Gemara* which is designed to explain that Text, there are innumerable Customs which were in use in our Saviour's time, he says what is manifestly false; and what the two original Titles here printed, plainly shew to be Mistakes. If he says there are wicked things in the *Talmud*, he shall not be contradicted. The Evangelists demonstrate that, in all those places wherein our Lord rebukes the *Pharisees* for Abuses there plainly to be found. If he says there are foolish and fabulous, and very often blasphemous Stories in the *Gemara* (for of these latter Sorts there are very few,

"ⁿ Because our Adversaries mention the Rabbins so much in this Dispute, and Dr. Hammond calls their Authority (not over prudently) the true Basis of Infant-Baptism; I think myself obliged to confirm what I here advance, being under a kind of a Promise likewise to assign some of the Reasons which prove the Rabbins and their Writings are of no weight, and that their Testimony can't be rely'd on by any who love the Truth, and take a prudent Care not to be imposed on in their search after it." Pag. 335.

"The Woes which our Lord pronounces against them [the Pharisees] Matth. xxiii. and Chap. xxi. 31. which represents them to be worse than the most profligate part of Mankind, and such whose Testimony wou'd signify nothing in any Case." P. 352.

"All which, if there be any thing Sacred and Awful, and that deserves our most serious regard in our Saviour's Words, must at least signify, that they are a dangerous sort of Men, and rather to be shunned than followed; for he has expressly commanded us to beware of their Leaven. Since then the Jews, and their Writings, are so much to be distrusted, and are so scandalous and fallacious, can what they say be called with any Prudence, the true Basis of Infant-Baptism? To conclude, what is built upon this Basis, is a Rabbinical Tradition, and one of those Washings which our Lord condemns, but not a Christian Baptism." Pag. 352, 353.

if

if any, in the *Misna*) that also will be readily agreed to: But if from thence he argues, that the *Talmud* or the *Rabbins* (as he imprudently for the most part confounds them) are of *no Credit and Authority at all*, he either *deceives others wilfully*, or is *himself deceived*; but I believe the former. He seems to be well acquainted with those Books, which must have taught him otherwise. The sole Design of Dr. *Lightfoot* in his Commentaries upon the principal Books of the New Testament, is to shew the exceeding great use the *Talmudists* afford in interpreting, explaining, and illustrating Customs, Usages, Phrases and Institutions; there recorded or pointed at. They are quoted by Christians only as Historians: They were incomparably better acquainted with the Customs of the *Jews* who lived in *Jesus Christ's* time, than any Christians (that were not originally *Jews* themselves) could possibly be; consequently then a thorough Knowledge of the Writings of these Men; and especially of the *Misna*, will open, and has open'd a world of Things in the Text of the New Testament; and in the Accounts of the earliest Settlements of the Christian Church. No Christian uninspired Writers; that were not educated the same way, and that from their Childhood had not been accustomed to these Things; cou'd explain them so clearly to us, at this distance.

Mr. *Gale* then needed not to have born so hard upon Dr. *Hammond*; for calling the Doctrine of the *Jews*, in this particular, the *true Basis of Infant Baptism*. Dr. *Hammond* is a Writer for whom every Member of the Church of *England* ought to have a particular Reverence; and if he shou'd be sometimes mistaken in his Interpretations of Scripture; yet *who is sufficient for these Things?* And the very many difficult Places in those holy Writings, to which he has given certain Light, will amply compensate for those wherein he may possibly have been mistaken; but he

needs no Defence here, his Words will justify themselves: He did not mean that Christian Baptism receiv'd any Authority from the Practice of the Elders, its Authority is solely owing to the Command of *Jesus Christ*. Dr. *Hammond* only meant that our Lord took it from the *Jews*, and by his Practice and Command gave it the Sanction of a perpetual Law, to be observed by his Church as long as it shou'd be visible here on Earth. In this he was willing to comply with the *Jews*, to whom he never needlessly gave Offence, but always condescended to them, and their Customs, as far as was consistent with that Divine Command, which he came down from Heaven to fulfil.

This is what I have to say to Mr. *Gale*; he is a Writer so well vers'd in the Arts of Persuasion, and his way of Writing is generally so very winning, that when I had undertaken to treat of the true Authority of this most ancient Text of *Jewish* Traditions to us Christians, I shou'd have been wanting to my Subject, if I had not taken notice of what he had said upon these Matters. This will be sufficient to teach his Readers how to pass a Judgment upon the rest of his Book. If in Matters where it may not be so easily discovered, he reasons fallaciously, those of his Opinion wou'd do well to distrust him in every thing else, in which he opposes the receiv'd Doctrine of the Catholick Church. Let him apply to himself what he puts in his Title Page out of *Job* °, *Teach me, and I will hold my Tongue: and cause me to understand wherein I have erred. How forcible are right Words! But what doth your arguing reprove?*

We see by this Instance of how great use this sort of Learning is, to understand the earliest Usages of the Christian Church. I shall give but one Instance

° *Job* vi. 24, 25.

more, relating to the Old Testament, and that is of the Nature of the *Jewish Tithes*. In the beginning of the last Century, what the several sorts of *Tithes* were which the *Jews* were obliged to pay by the Law of *Moses*, was very warmly debated. Mr. *Selden* assigned the Sorts, the Persons to whom they were payable, the Times when due, and the Places where they were to be paid, as he found them specify'd in the *Talmud*. This he did in his *History of Tithes*. That Book was purposely intended to weaken the Obligation of paying *Tithes* to the Clergy of the Church of *England*, to whom he was known to bear no good Will: Every thing therefore which he there asserted, was eagerly contradicted by his numerous Answerers; and tho' the *Tithes* paid by the *Jews* did not all of them belong to the Priests and *Levites*, exclusively of other Men, yet nothing that he said upon that Subject was allow'd. Accordingly when Dr. *Montagu* and Dr. *Tillesley* had examin'd the other parts of Mr. *Selden's* Work, Mr. *Stephen Nettles*, a Man well versed in the Writings of the *Rabbins*, undertook to answer the *Jewish* part of his *History of Tithes*: It must be owned that he says many things in that Answer of his very well, but being determin'd to contradict Mr. *Selden* in every Assertion which he advanced, he involves his Argument in obscurity, and leaves it usually more perplexed than he found it.

Mr. *Selden's* Scheme is this: Out of the *Produce* of the Ground, whilst it was *unwrought*, the People paid their *first Fruits* (*Biccurim*). Of this sort was the *Wave-Sheaf*, which was offered on the *second Day* of the *Feast of unleavened Bread*: Then out of the *wrought Produce* they paid their *Trumah* (which in our Bibles is also rendred *first Fruits*) in *Corn*, and *Wine*, and *Oil*; of which the least portion was a sixtieth part. Then they paid a *full Tenth* to the *Levite*, out of

which he paid a *Tenth*, i. e. $\frac{1}{10}$ part to the Priest. Out of the remainder the People took a *second Tenth*, which they turned into Money, and carry'd that to *Jerusalem*, (or the Place which the Lord shou'd choose,) and bought Provisions to eat and drink, which they ate there, at their solemn Feasts. This they did for two Years together, computing still from every sabbatical Year; but then every third Year (i. e. the third and sixth Years after the sabbatical Year) they ate this *second Tithe* at home with the *Levite*, the *Stranger*, the *Fatherless* and *Widow* who resided among them. Now the great Question was, Whether this *Poor's Tithe*, as the *Misna* calls it, which was payable only every third Year, was different from the *second Tithe*, which was to be eaten at *Jerusalem* the two other Years or not? Mr. *Selden* says they were the same, only differing in Name, (*Maafer Sheni* and *Maafer Ani*) according to the several Years in which they were eaten, either at *Jerusalem* or at Home.

Every Man sees that this has nothing to do with the Question of the *Divine Right of Tithes*, payable to the Ministers either of the Law or the Gospel; since this *second Tithe* was not given to the *Levites*, exclusively from the other Tribes, as the first *Tithe* was: It was therefore only a Philological Question relating to the true understanding of the *Levitical Law*, and no ways concerning Christians at this time. Now the Text of the *Misna* and its Commentators, are clear for Mr. *Selden*; so the excellent Mr. *Reland* states it in his *Antiquitates Hebraicae*^p, so also Mr. *Guise* in his Annotations upon the Title *Pea* 9. Whether now ought we to acquiesce in what the *Misnic Doctors*, and from them these later Writers, both *Jews* and *Christians*, affirm upon this Head or no?

^p *Antiqq. Hebr.* p. 379. Edit. 1712. 9 *Not. in Pea.* viii. 2.

I think

I think we ought: For *Tithes* were Offerings which the whole *Jewish* Nation, of all Ranks, Qualities and Conditions, thought themselves obliged to pay, whilst the second Temple stood: All the People knew that: When they had paid the *first Tithe*, they could perfectly tell to whom, and when, and where the *second Tithe* was payable. And it was impossible such a Tradition cou'd be lost in so short a time, as between the Destruction of the second Temple, and the Compiling of the *Misna*. Nor was it possible, that such a Custom should be introduced as paying a *third Tithe*, besides the *second* every *third Year*, without the Peoples notice, since they were all concerned to pay it. Yet this is what these Men assert, who say the *Poor's Tithe* was different from the *second Tithe*; which *second Tithe* was, according to them, eaten every Year at *Jerusalem*. Besides, the People would not have acquiesced in so great an additional Payment; if its Obligation had not been indispensably and demonstrably proved out of the *Mosaic Law*, without murmuring^r. We may then venture to assert that this *Quota* was established by *Nebemiah*, who was assisted by *Ezra*, who certainly understood the true meaning of the *Mosaic Law*. Now this Settlement being authorized by the Bulk of a Nation, *i. e.* by all those who

^r The Payments under the second Temple stood thus. Suppose the Produce of any Man's Crop in one Year was 6000 *Epha's* of Barly; of that the *Trumah*, at the lowest Computation, was $\frac{1}{10}$ part, that came to 600 *Epha's*; there remain'd then 5400. Of them, when the *Levites Tithe* was taken out, there were 5310 *Epha's* left. Out of them 531 *Epha's* were to be deducted for the *second Tithe*, and then the Proprietor had but 4879 *Epha's* remaining; so that by the lowest Computation he paid something above a fifth part of his whole Produce. If now the *Poor's Tithe* was different from this *second Tithe*; then every third Year, when all the deductions were made, there wou'd be very little above 4300 *Epha's* left for the Proprietor.

receiv'd the *Misna*, is certainly of more Authority than any thing which some may pretend to produce to the contrary out of *Josephus*; between whose Age, and that of *R. Juda*, there were not fifty Years. Accordingly now, when Party-Heats are over, learned Men have acquiesced in what *Mr. Selden* so long since advanced, who first, of all the Christians, set that Matter in a clear Light.

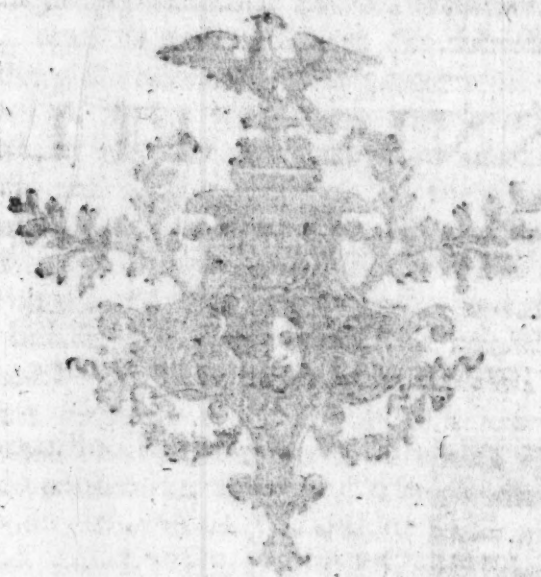
It is plain, now, what Authority Christians may safely pay to the *Misna*; it shews us how the *Chain of Traditions* stood in *Jesus Christ's* time. What regard is due to any particular *Decree, Tradition, or Constitution*, must be gathered from the subject Matter of the things themselves. If they contradict the *Text of the written Law*, if they are unjust or knavish, they must be rejected without more ado: If they strengthen and assist the Law, as they very often do, by enabling those who were obliged to observe it at that time, to observe it with more ease and safety, they ought to have their Weight; and their Antiquity, unless where the Author is named (as he very often is) ought not rashly to be deny'd; because we cannot certainly tell, unless in a few general things, what the Regulations were which *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* made. In short, the Authority of the *Misna*, to us Christians, is wholly historical; and being stamp'd with the Seal of the *Jewish Nation* (unless we will except the *Sadducees* of old, and the ancient and modern *Karaites*, who have been but few in comparison of the rest) it certainly proves the Existence of any Usage in Question in its own time. That, considering the Tenaciousness of the *Jews*, in adhering to the Decisions of their Ancestors, in Points relating to the understanding of their Law, is a great deal; so that we may venture to say, that we have a faithful Representation of that Body of Traditions
which

which were so severely censured, where they deserved it, by *Jesus Christ* when he was here on Earth.

I have now done what I at first designed. From what is here said, and by the help of that, from the two *Talmudic Titles* here printed at length, one may, I believe, pass a true Judgment upon these Matters, without making any very considerable Mistakes.



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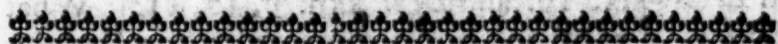
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TABLE *and* CONTENTS

O F

MISNIC TITLES.



I. Seder Zeraim ; Order of Seeds. *Containing the following Titles.*



Eratoth. Blessings. Constitutions concerning reading the *Shema* : Forms of Blessings to be used on different Occasions ; Directions how and when to use them.

2. *Pea. The Corner.* [The Laws of gleaning are commanded *Levit. xix. 9, 10. Lev. xxiii. 22. Deut. xxiv. 19, 20, 21.*] Of the Corner to be left in a Corn Field. When the Corner is due, and when not. Of the forgotten Sheaf. Of Ears of Corn left in gathering. Of Grapes left upon the Vine. Of Olives left upon the Trees. Who are obliged to these Laws, and who not. Where and when the Poor may lawfully glean. What Sheaf may be

be looked upon to be forgotten, and what not. What Olives and what Grapes may be look'd upon to be forgotten, and what not. Who proper Witnesses concerning the Poor's Due to exempt it from Tithing. Of the Poor's Tithe. Of the measure of giving Alms.

3. *Demai*. Things not certainly known to have paid Tithes. What Species do not come under this Denomination. To what Uses the *Demai* may be put. What Species are reckoned doubtful. Various Laws relating to the Tithing these Species, and using them without Tithing. Methods of Tithing them in several Cases. Of Tithing them when Grounds are let to Tenants, and where several Persons are Heirs to a Person deceased. Who are allow'd as Witnesses whether any Species are *Demai*, or Tithed already.

4. *Gilaim*. Heterogeneous Mixtures. [Written Law in *Levit.* xix. 19. and *Deut.* xxii. 9, 10, 11.] What Species of Seeds and Fruits come under this Prohibition. What quantity of one Grain may lawfully be mixed with another Grain in sowing. Of sowing one sort of Grain in a Field, when another sort had been sow'd there before. Of Divisions between Gardens-Beds and Fields; that the Produce of the several sorts of Grain or Seeds may appear to be distinct. Of the distances between every Species. Spaces to be left unsowed or unplanted about a Vine. Distances between Vines planted in Corn-Fields from one another, and from the Corn; between Vines planted against Hedges, Walls, or Espaliers, and any thing that is sowed near them. Various Cases relating to Vineyards planted near any forbidden Seeds. Of unlawful Copulations of different Animals. Of drawing Carriages with several sorts of Animals at one time. Of Linsey-woolsey Garments; when and how lawful, and when and how not.

5. *Sheviith. The seventh Year.* [Letter of the Law in *Exod. xxiii. 10, 11. Levit. xxv. 2—7.*] Of tilling Grounds planted with Trees on the sixth Year. Of tilling Corn-Fields on the sixth Year. Of carrying Dung on the sixth Year. Of working Quarries, gathering Stones, fencing, clearing Olive-yards, dressing Vineyards in the seventh Year. Rules for eating the Produce of the seventh Year; for pruning Trees; for keeping Roots in the Ground which may be preserved to the next Year. What Tools of Husbandry may be sold in the seventh Year. How far beyond the Land of *Canaan* the Prohibitions of the seventh Year reach. When Herbs may be bought after the expiration of the seventh Year. Whatsoever is not perennial, and produced that Year by the Earth, comes under this Law. Of that no Money may be made. What is perennial may be sold. Several Niceties relating to selling the Produce of the seventh Year. Of removing the Produce of the seventh Year out of one's Possession. Of forgiving Debts that Year. Of the *Prosbol*.

6. *Terumoth. First-fruits of the wrought Produce of the Ground.* Who may not separate the *Truma*. From what Things it may not be separated. Proportion of the *Truma*, what? Of judging and separating when any quantity of the *Truma* is mixed with what is common or unclean. Of those that eat the *Truma* who have no right to eat it. Of Pollutions of the *Truma*. When the *Truma* is used for Seed, what is to be done with the Produce.

7. *Maaferoth. Priests Tithe.* When due, and of what. When to be separated. Of eating Fruits when growing, before they have been tithed. Of eating Fruits whilst they are carrying to the Place where they are to be separated. Of Fruit found casually on the Ground. Of Yards where Tithe is separated. Of selling titheable Fruits to those who may be suspected of not paying Tithes.

8. *Maafer.*

8. *Maaser Shenii. Second Tithe, and Poor's Tithe.* [Commanded *Deut. xiv. 22—27.* and *Deut. xiv. 28, 29.*] Rules to prevent Alienations of consecrated Things of any sort. What Things may, or may not be bought with the Money of the second Tithe. How what is so bought is to be consumed. Of changing the Money into which the second Tithe is to be converted. Of second Tithe carried in Specie to *Jerusalem.* Of those Species when polluted there. Of Prices at which the second Tithe may be redeemed. Of Money or Vessels filled with these Species found by chance. The Produce of the fourth Year of a Vine may be brought to *Jerusalem* in Specie, or redeemed. Laws relating to the removal of the hallowed Thing out of their Houses upon the Eve of the first Day of the Passover, [pursuant to the Law, *Deut. xxvi. 13.*]

9. *Cballab. Cake of Dough.* [Commanded *Numb. xv. 20, 21.*] What Species of Grain are obliged to the separation of the Cake, and what not? What sort of Dough is free from that separation. Manner of making it. Quantity of Dough to be set apart. Miscellaneous Laws relating to the Priests Dues.

10. *Orlab. Uncircumcised Fruit Trees.* [Written Law in *Levit. xix. 23, 24, 25.*] What Trees come under the prohibition of this Law. In what quantity the Fruit of these Trees mixed with what may be lawfully eaten, renders the whole unlawful to be eaten. Miscellaneous Laws relating to Pollutions of this sort. Whether Colours for Dying made of the Husks of these Fruits (*ex. gr.* of Pomegranates) may be used. Whether Bakers Fires may be kindled with what is *Orlab.* Of Fruits which may be questioned whether they are *Orlab* or not?

11. *Biccurim. First Fruits of the unwrought Produce of the Ground;* [Commanded *Exod. xxiii. 19.*] Confession to be made. [*Deut. xxvi. 5—11.*] Who carry

carry these First Fruits to *Jerusalem*, and who read the Confession? What Species are carried thither? Comparative sanctity of *Biccurim* and *Truma*. Miscellaneous Laws by way of Digression on this occasion. Of separation of the First Fruits. Of carrying them up to *Jerusalem*. Rules of Confession. Of Baskets in which they were carry'd.



II. Seder Moëd, Order of stated Feasts, *containing the following Titles.*

1. **S***Habbath. The Sabbath.* Laws relating to Works prohibited and allowed upon that Day.
2. *Eruvin. Sabbatic Mixtures.* Laws of Mixtures and Associations, of Courts and Entries. Of enlarging Sabbath-days Journeys by these Mixtures.
3. *Pesachim. Paschal Laws.* Of enquiries after Leaven. When it is to be burnt. Whilst it may be eaten it may be lawfully put to any other Use. What Species of Corn may be used for unleavened Bread. Bitter Herbs what? Cautions to prevent Leavening. What things must be removed out of Houses for fear of being leavened upon the 14th Day of the Month. Farther Laws concerning destroying Leaven on the 14th Day. Various Constitutions concerning Times and Places in which Things legally commanded were to be done. Rites of killing and slaying the Paschal Lamb. What Paschal Rites drive out the Sabbath, and what not. Of Roasting the Passover. What pollutes it. Of burning what is left. Of two Companies eating under one Roof. Who may eat the Passover, and with whom. What pollutes or incapacitates for the *first* Passover. Difference

rence between the *first* and *second* Passover. Of the Consecration of the Paschal Lamb. Of Paschal Companies. Blessings to be used whilst it is eating.

4. *Shekalim. Shekels.* Of the annual Capitation of half a *Shekel*, to be paid by every Male above 20 Years old, [commanded *Exod.* 30. 11—16.] When this Payment to be made? Who obliged to this Payment, and who not? Of the Place where it was to be paid. Of Persons by whom it might be sent. Of the Place in the Temple where, and the Chests in which the Money was to be lodged. Of the Uses to which it was put. Of the Officers who were to lay out this Money. Of Money for the Drink Offerings. Of the several Chests, Tables, and Places of Adoration in the Sanctuary. Rules to discern the Uses, to which Money, or Flesh for Offerings were to be apply'd in doubtful Cases. Rules concerning sacred Utensils, or Offerings when they were unclean.

5. *Yoma. The Day of Expiation.* [Commanded in *Numb.* xvi.] Duty of High Priest on the seven Days that precede the Day of Expiation. Who swept the Altar, and killed the Sacrifice. When to be killed. Purifications of the High Priest. Ceremonies of killing. Form of Confession of Sins. Digression concerning some that were Benefactors to the Service of the Altar, and others who were notorious Offenders in that Respect. Of Lots for the two Goats. Of the Scarlet Thread and Confession over the Goat that was killed. Rites of killing, and offering Incense, and of sprinkling the Blood for the Expiation. Of sending away the Scape-Goat. Confession over his Head. Various Rites relating to that Affair. Ceremonies when the High Priest read. His Habits. Rules of Fasting and Repentance on that Day.

6. *Succa. The Feast of Tabernacles.* Rules for making Booths for the Service of the Feast. Of sleeping in them. Places where they may be made. Numbers

bers of Feasts to be made in them. Of going out of them when it rained. Of Branches [mentioned *Levit. xxiii. 40.*] or *Lulabbin*, which the People might lawfully carry in their Hands. Of the Fruit of the goodly Tree [in our Translation called a *Bough*, supposed by the *Talmudists* to be a *Citron*] when fit for Use, and when not. Of the Hymn to be repeated as they went up to the Sanctuary. Various Laws concerning the carrying of these Branches. Of the pouring out of the Water. [This they pretended to be a Tradition from Mount *Sinai*. It was the chiefest part of the Solemnity of the eighth Day, and is supposed to have given Occasion to what our Lord says *John vii. 37, 38.*] Of the extream Joy at that Time. Of the great golden Candlesticks 50 Cubits high, whose Bowls at top were filled with Oil, which were placed in the Womens Court in the Temple, to cast a Light over the City of *Jerusalem* during the Nights of the Feast. Of the several Sacrifices on the several Days of that Feast.

7. *Betsa. The Egg.* So named from the first Word of the Title; or *Jom Tob. The Feast Day.* Of the great Feast Days in which all servile Work (excepting dressing of Meat) was forbidden. Here every thing that could possibly be used upon the Holy-day in dressing of Victuals was required to be prepared the Day before. Rules to judge what is a legal preparation, and what not. Differences between the *Shammaeans* and the *Hillelaeans* about these things. Various Rules to determine what Works are servile, and what allow'd for the absolute necessity of the Feast. In every thing else the Sabbatical Prohibitions are the Rule here.

8. *Rosh Hashana. Beginning of the Year or Feast of Trumpets.* Various beginnings of the Jewish Year. Of six times for other Matters. Of the appearance of

of the Moon. Messengers sent by the *Sanbidrin* to watch it. Who may lawfully be sent on that Errand; and who not. Of Beacons by which they gave notice from *Jerusalem* that the Moon had appeared, and that the New-Year was begun. Manner of examining Witnesses about the Moon's appearance. Of Intercalations of Months. Of Trumpets to be used on that occasion. Of Places where they sounded. Of Blessings to be used at that time. Of several sorts of soundings.

9. *Taanith. Fasts.* When are Men to thank God for Rain? Of Seasons when Rain is wanted. Fasts proclaimed for Rain. Ceremonies to be observed on solemn Fasts. Blessings then to be used. Measure of Abstinence at those times. Of Days of the Week, and times when Fasts may be proclaimed. When they may sound a Trumpet for Fasts, and when not. Trumpets not to be sounded when they pray for Rain. History of *Eboni Maagali*, who [enclosed himself within a Circle, from whence he had his Surname, and] pray'd for Rain, which came down plentifully upon his Prayer. Of the four weekly Fasts of the *Stationary Men*, i. e. of those whose turn (*eqnup-eia*) it was to wait in the Temple. Of the Times when Wood was brought in for the Temple-Service. Of Misfortunes in the Months *Tammuz* (*June*) and *Ab* (*July*).

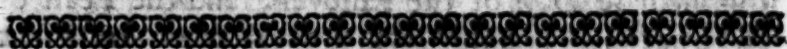
10. *Megilab. The Roll.* Of reading the Book of *Esther*. When it is to be read in Villages, and when in Towns. Various Laws of different Sanctities of Times, Things, Places and Persons. Manner how *Megilab* is to be read. Times of the Day when. Of the Sanctity of Synagogues. Of Alienation of them to other Uses. Of Lessons out of the Pentateuch. When to be read. Prophetic Lessons (or *Haphtara's*) when to be read. How much to be read without interruption in *Hebrew*, before it was interpreted in-

to Chaldees. Of wearing of Phylacteries. What Passages of Scripture may be read and expounded in the Synagogues, and what not.

11. *Moed Katon*. Lesser stated Feast Days, i. e. The intermediate Days of the Passover, and the Feast of Tabernacles. What Works are forbidden, and what allow'd, on those Days. Of watering sow'd Grounds. Of mending High Ways and Common Shores. Of hunting Vermin out of Plantations. Graves and Sepulchres may not then be newly made. Marriages unlawful in those Times. Many Things may be done out of necessity unskillfully, which may not be done as Artificers wou'd do them. Various Works which may be done out of necessity, but not otherwise. *Nazarites* (if their Vow be out) and Lepers if they are clean may be shaven. Who may wash Cloaths at that time. What Instruments may then be written, and what not. Outward Acts of Mourning forbidden.

12. *Chagigah*. Solemn Feasts. i. e. Days of appearance of Males thrice a Year before the LORD. Who obliged to appear. With what Offerings; if no Offering, yet no Penalty. That [endeavour'd to be] proved from *Eccles.* 1. 15. This occasions a Digression to the end of the Title concerning various Degrees of Sanctity in several Things; and several sorts of Pollutions. Here we have one remarkable Confession; which is; that the Pharisaical Laws of the dissolution of Vows have little [or no] Foundation in Scripture: As also the *Mishnic* Laws in Sabbatical Cases [chiefly those in the *Eruvin*] with the Ceremonies relating to Observations of those Feasts in which all Males were obliged to appear, and Transgressions which require Sin-Offerings. These (says the *Misna*) are like Mountains which hang upon a Hair; because the Text is slender, and the Constitutions many: Whereas the Judicial Laws, those of the Temple Service, of Purifications, of Pollutions; and of Matrimonial Prohi-

bitions, have a support [from the written Text,] though both are Bodies of the Law. This is a frank Confession, and very well worth observing ^a.



III. Seder Nashim. Order of Women, *containing these Titles.*

1. **J**Ebammoth. Duty of Husbands-Brothers towards their deceased Brothers Wives. [Commanded Deut. xxv. 5—11.] What Women free their Rivals (*i. e.* Fellow-Wives) from making this claim. When one Wife cannot claim, the others cannot, according to the *Hillelaeans*; but the *Shammaeans* do not debar the rest. Brother born after his Brother's Marriage not obliged by this Law. Cases where different Brothers have marry'd different Sisters. What shall be done in these Cases because of Incest. Of mistakes in Espousals, where one Woman is taken for another. Of a Widow left with Child that claims this Right. Eldest surviving Brother obliged to marry his Sister-in-Law, or to give his Shoe, if his younger Brothers refuse. None under this Obligation but Heirs. A Woman must not claim till her

^a The curious Reader will I believe be glad to see this Misna in the Original.

היתר נדרים פורחין באויר. ואין להם על מה שישמכו. הלכות שבת חביגות והמעילות הרי הם כהררים התלויין בשערה. שהן מקרא מועש והלכות מרובות. הרינין והעבודות השתרות והשוממות ועריות יש להן על מה ישמכו. הן הן גופי תורה.

The first Sentence which is something obscure Bartenora explains thus, *Dissolutionem votorum dispellunt in aërem*, "Id est, exigua in lege demonstratio est, quâ sapiens dissolvere potest vota, non habens quibus se sustentet, nisi quod ita orali lege sapientibus traditum est."

Husband

Husband has been dead three Months. Of marrying Women that they have divorced, or that have pluckt off the Shoe. Who properly Bastards. Various Laws relating to Espousals and Divorces in Cases of this Nature. Coition of a Brother-in-Law with his Brother's Widow, makes the acquisition of her for a Wife compleat. Of Priests Marriages with Virgins and Widows. Various Laws relating to these sorts of Marriages. Of Women free to Husbands and not to Brothers-in-Law. Of Women free to Brothers-in-Law, and not to Husbands. Of those forbidden to both. Cases where the Husband dies, or is reported to be dead in a far Countrey. Who may be Judges when the Shoe is taken off. What sort of Shoe it must be. Of reading and spitting at that time. Witnesses must be three. Cases of Minors, Wards, betrothed Girls whose Husbands die whilst they are in that State. Of Women that are Deaf. The validity of their Espousals. Various Cases when Girls ought to refuse to take their Brothers-in-Law, and when they are to demand the Shoe. Of a Woman's Declaration that her Husband dy'd when they both were among Strangers. Of the Declaration of two Rival-Wives. What Evidence is sufficient to prove a Husband's Death. Of Witnesses in Espousals.

2. *Cethuboth*. Portions given by Husbands to Wives, which accrue to them or their Heirs after the dissolution of their Marriages, and of *Matrimonial Instruments*. These are Constitutions of the wise Men, not founded upon any written Law. Virgins are marry'd the fourth Day of the Week, and Widows the fifth. Virgins Portion 200 *Zuzae*. Of other Women what? Of Actions where the Damsel may be accused of having lost her Virginitie before Marriage. Actions for Portions after the Death of Husbands, or after Divorces. Of Actions for lying with a Maiden not betrothed, [grounded on the Law *Deut. xxii.*

28, 29.] Of Damages in those Cases. Of the Power of Fathers over Daughters. Portions to Virgins of 200 *Zuzae*, and to other Women of 100, may be increased, but not diminished. What Work a Wife is bound to do. Of Allowances of all sorts which a Wife may challenge. Of Vows made by Husbands in prejudice to their Wives. How far, and how long valid. What Wives forfeit their Portions when divorced. Of Blemishes discovered in Wives and Husbands after Marriage. Of Estates that fall to Wives before or after Marriage, how far in the Wives Power. Of Power given at the Espousals in Writing to a Wife to dispose of any Inheritance or Estate that then is, or afterwards may be hers. Demands of Portion or other Goods belonging to the Wife to be made by her or her Heirs upon Oath. Of two Wives that claim after the Husband's death, in what order they and their Heirs may claim. Where three or four Wives claim, and their Portions are unequal, and there is a failure of Assets. Widows to be maintain'd by their Children, and their Children to have the Profit of their Labour. Of a Widow's selling or mortgaging her Portion. Who to maintain the Daughters of a Widow when she marries a second Husband. Whether a Widow may live with her Husband's Heirs, or must return to her Father. Who shall maintain her. Of *Admon and Chanen*, two Judges in Cases of Debts and Demands, and their several Ways of Judging.

3. *Nedarim. Vows.* [Laws about them in *Numb. xxx.*] Forms of Vows, which binding, which not. What Vows may be disallow'd by the wise Men. Of Vows where our Neighbour is not to be profited by us. Where two Persons vow in this manner to one another. When a Man is excluded by another from profiting by him, and the excluded Man is ready to starve, how he may be relieved. Of Vows of Abstinence from some sorts of Food, and eating others.

Various

Various Vows of a like nature. Of Causes to be assigned why a Man should desire that his Vows may be disallow'd. Of Fathers and Husbands disallowing of Womens Vows. What are *Vows to afflict the Soul*, which Fathers and Husbands may ratify or disallow. Of Vows of Widows, divorced Persons, and Girls under Age.

4. *Nazir. The Nazarite.* [Vows of *Nazarites* commanded and described *Numb. vi. 1—22.*] *Perpetual Nazarite* who? *Samsonaeon Nazarite* who? *Perpetual Nazarite* may shave every Year, as the wise Men say *Absalom* did, who they tell us was such a *Nazarite*. A *Samsonaeon Nazarite* might be polluted by the Dead without bringing an Atonement. So *Samson* did, who was a *Nazarite* by the Command of the Angel, not by any Vow of his own, but then he was never shaved. The legal *Nazarite* was so only for a term of Days, which the Doctors limit to 30. Term may be enlarged. Various Forms of a *Nazarite's* Vow. Of a Vow made in another's hearing, who consents to it, and becomes thereby a *Nazarite*. Dissolution of the first Man's Vow in that Case dissolves the other's Vow also. Woman's Vow to be a *Nazarite* may be dissolved by her Husband. Son may accomplish his Father's Vow. Wise Men can absolve a *Nazarite's* Vow. Unclean things, Shaving the Head, and the Fruit of the Vine forbidden to *Nazarites*. Laws of Shaving. What Pollutions require his Shaving, and what not? When of two *Nazarites* one is polluted, and it is uncertain which, who is to make the Offering. Laws relating to a *Nazarite's* Pollutions.

5. *Sota. The suspected Woman, who is to be try'd by the Waters of Jealousy.* [Command in *Numb. v. 11—31.*] Husband obliged to forbid his Wife to keep a particular Man Company before two Witnesses. Priests Wives that may not eat the *Truma*. Women accus'd that confess were dismiss'd without drinking

the bitter Water, only lost their Portion. Ceremonies of cloathing the accused Woman at her Trial. Of God's Judgments in proportion to Men's Offences. The Woman carry'd her Offering in a Willow-Basket. Of the Dust and Water. Of the Book of Curses. Of the two *Amens*. Facts charged must have been committed whilst in her Husband's Power. Ceremonies of Offering. Woman may refuse to drink till the Writing is blotted, after that she may be forced. Effect of Waters when? Good Works done before, suspend the Effect of the Waters for some Years. This disputed among the Masters. What Womens Offerings might be burnt. Several Prerogatives of Men above Women. Women espoused (but not married) and that wait for Brothers-in-Law cannot be obliged to drink. Who lose their Portion, but do not drink. Women with Child, or that give Suck, or that are past Child-bearing, not obliged to drink. In some Cases the Magistrate may take upon him the Husband's part. The Waters which the Woman drinks operate on the Adulterer wherever he is. [The *Gemarists* here say the Waters have no effect unless the Husband who accuses his Wife be entirely innocent from any former unlawful Loves.] Digression concerning Disputes between *R. Akiba* and other Doctors. When a Woman keeps forbidden Company, her Husband may put her away [if he will not put her upon her Trial] but then he must give her her Portion. Nothing to be done without previous Witnesses. Of their Testimony. Writing used in this Trial may be read in any Language. What *Forms* may be read in any Language, what only in *Hebrew*? Various Rules concerning those things. Of Blessings to be pronounced by the High Priest. Of parts of the Law to be read by the King. Duty of the Priest anointed for the Battel. [See *Deut. xx. 1—4.*] Who may go home from the War and who not? [*Ibid. 5—9.*] This License only to be understood

lood of voluntary Wars. In Wars by Command all must go. Form of Expiation for uncertain Murders [*Deut. xxi. 1—9.*] must be in *Hebrew*. Various Laws relating to that Affair. When the Examinations of suspected Women, and of uncertain Murders ceased. Of several other Things which ceased some before, some after the Destruction of the second Temple. Lamentable description of the State of the *Jewish* Nation when the second Temple was destroy'd, and of the State of the World about the time of the [*future*] coming of the *Messiah*.

6. *Gittin. Divorces.* [*Allowed Deut. xxiv. 1—4.*] Of Attestations to a Bill of Divorce out of a foreign Country. Who proper Witnesses. What Materials lawful to write a Bill of Divorce withal. Upon what Materials it may be written. Who may write it. In these Bills the Woman to be divorced must be expressly named. Rules about carrying a Bill to a Wife from her Husband who is at a distance. Of revocations of Bills of Divorce. Various Laws concerning Servants (*i. e.* Slaves). In what Cases Divorces may be revoked, and in what not. Various Laws concerning Satisfaction of Injuries, and paying of Debts. Of Messengers who are to carry Bills of Divorce between Man and Wife at a distance. Of Bills written by Men in a *Delirium*, by Men dangerously ill. Conditional Bills how far valid. Of a Bill delivered to the Wife, without being given into her Hand. Bills of Divorce must be written on purpose. Old ones kept by one any time not valid. They must be dated according to the computation of the Country where one lives. Of Bills in which the Husband forbids the Wife then divorced to marry any particular Persons. Of Failures in drawing or attesting these Bills, which make them void, or not. *Shammoeans* say no Divorce is lawful unless something light is found in the Woman. *Hillelaeans* allow Divorces for lesser Causes.

7. *Kiddushin. Espousals.* Of ways by which a Wife may be acquired. Of Acquisitions of Seryants, Cattel and Goods. What Laws Men are obliged to, and what Women. What Laws are obligatory only in the Land of *Canaan*. Ways of betrothing what valid, and what not. Of Espousals by Proxy. Of Conditions in the Form of Espousals. Where one Daughter is given by the Father instead of another, through mistake. Of the ten sorts of *Israëlites* that came up into *Judaea* [under *Zorobabel*.] Who may marry together, and who not. Of Enquiries into the Ancestors of Women to be betrothed. Of Bastards. Of Proof of Children to be ones own when carry'd into a foreign Land. Of Employments which Men ought to teach their Sons; which reputable and which not.



IV. Seder Nezikin. Order of Damages contains these Titles.

1. **B** *Aba-Kama. The first Gate.* [Containing Rules how to tax the Damages done by Man or Beast, or other Casualties, Laws are in *Exod.* xxi, xxii.] Four Fountains (or Causes) of Damage. An Ox. A Pit. A Beast that feedeth. Fire. Damages done by any of these ways must be fully made good. Rule of Compensation in *Exod.* xxii. 5. What Beasts are *innocent*, what *convict*. Various Niceties concerning *innocent* and *convicted* Cattel. When a *convicted* Beast do's Mischief, the Owner pays full Costs; when an *innocent* Beast do's Mischief he pays but half. Man always *convict* [*i. e.* if he do's Mischief he must pay full Costs.] Of casual Damages, *ex. gr.* When a Man pours Water in a publick Place, by

by which another Man receives an Injury, makes a Thorn-Hedge which annoys his Neighbour, throws Dung in a publick Place, falls down, and another by stumbling upon him catches Harm, how compensation must be made. When two *innocent* Beasts gore one another. When Beasts of different value hurt one another. When it is uncertain which Man's Beast did the Damage. When a Beast hurts four or five Beasts, one after another. Of Beasts *convict* on one account, and *innocent* on another. Where the Beast that do's the Damage belongs to one that is Deaf [and Dumb], to an Ideot, to one under Age. Estimation of Damages done by Cattel. When the Damage is done by a Beast that is consecrated. Of Damage done by a Beast after Warning given. When a Cow that is hurt casts her Calf, and it is uncertain whether the Damage was done before or after Calving. Of a Beast that do's Mischief in another Man's Ground. Of a Beast that pushes at another Beast, and makes a Woman miscarry. Of Pits in publick and private Places. Of Beasts shut up that break out and do Damage. Of Damages done by Fire. When it begins in a Man's own Ground, and breaks out so as to damnify another. Of other casual Damages. Where Two-fold, and where Four-fold is to be paid. [See *Exod.* xxii. 7, 8, 9.] Of Uses to which things stolen may be apply'd, in order to make compensation. Of Witnesses in those Cases. Several Alleviations in Cases of Theft. Where and how Beasts of several sorts may be kept. Of the several Compensations to be made, where one Man wounds or maims another. Of the several Conditions of Persons who do these Injuries. If a Man steals or robs, when he is to make Restitution. Of the fifth part to be added in Restitutions. Of Children that wrong their Parents. To whom Restitution in that Case is to be made. Where a Father vows to disinherit a Son. Of Sin-Offerings paid by the Persons that commit the Robbery.

Robbery. Of Recoveries from the Robbers Heirs. Of those that buy stolen Goods. Various Cases of stealing, and robbing, and borrowing where Restitution is, or is not to be made. What Things may be bought of whom, when there is a probable suspicion of Theft.

2. *Baba Metzia. The middle Gate.* [As the former Title treated chiefly of *Things* from which Men may receive Damage, so this Title relates to *Persons* who may do the Wrong.] Of *Persons* that may, and usually do Mischief to one another. [Written Law chiefly in *Exod. xxii. 7—15.*] Where two find a Garment at the same time, and each makes claim to it. Various Laws of Things found, whether and when to be restored or not. Of Things found that accrue to the Finder after they are cry'd. What Things ought to be cry'd. Things found not to be meddled with by the Finder, in what Places? Of Owners describing the Marks. [Laws of lost Things *Deut. xxii. 1, 2, 3.*] Several Niceties concerning Things lost. Of Things given to others to keep. Of Things let out to hire. Where two Persons have left Things in a third Person's Custody of different values, and it is disputed to whom the Thing of the greatest value belongs, how Restitution to be made. Where Things are spoiled or lost in the Depositary's Hands. Several Laws of this Nature. Mutual delivery of Goods and Money compleat a Sale. Receiving of Goods obliges the Buyer. Where less is delivered than is paid for, and *è contra*. In what Cases of Frauds a fifth part must be added to make the Restitution compleat. [See *Levit. xxvii. 13.*] Where the Seller must give the Buyer the very Things he bought, and where they may be changed. Laws of Usury and Encrease. [*Exod. xxii. 25. Levit. xxv. 36, 37. Deut. xxiii. 19, 20.*] Of Usury lawful with a Gentile or a Proselyte. Of buying the Produce of a Ground before the Prices are settled.

Of

Of Men's doing like sorts of Works for one another. Where Labourers are hired at a less Price than the Master whose Work they do allows. Where Labourers will not stand to their Bargain. Of hiring of Cattel where different Work is done than that for which the Beast was hired. Of Things left in Pawn. He that has a Vessel of another's in keeping, and removes it, and in the removal it is broken, must swear to his Integrity, [*i. e.* that he had no design to break it.] He is to declare also upon Oath whether it is a Pawn or not. Labourers not to work more than their usual time. Victuals to be provided for them. Who to be fed by those that employ them. What their Food? What is Violence? What Beasts or Men commit Violence? This relates to Cases where the Depositary is obliged to Restitution unless the Things in his Custody perish by Violence, which he is supposed to be unable to remedy. Bargains against the written Law null. Of hiring a Beast with its Owner. This relates to Restitution in Case of Damage [pursuant to *Exod. xxii. 14, 15.*] Various Cases of this nature. Of letting Houses out to Tenants. Times of Ejectments. Of Repairs by whom to be made, Landlord or Tenant? Of letting out of Lands. Conditions according to the Custom of every Country. In what Cases Tenants may claim abatement of Rent. Tenants must sow such sorts of Corn as Landlords direct. Of Labourers Wages [*Levit. xix. 13. Deut. xxiv. 14, 15.*] Of redeeming the Pledge. [*Deut. xxiv. 6, 10—13, 17.*] Where a House belongs to two, and falls down, how the Loss shall be proportion'd. Various Cases of this Nature.

3. *Baba-Bathra. The last Gate.* [This last Title of Damages is not founded on the written Law, but upon the Constitutions of the Doctors.] Of Divisions in a Court to which many have a common Right, with what Materials they are to be made. The like of Gardens, Of Enclosures. Of being obliged to repair

pair common Gates and Walls. Of preventing Nuisances in Pits, Water-Courses, and other Things by which we may incommode our Neighbours. Of Ovens, how to be built to prevent Fire. Of Trades that are noisy or offensive. Pidgeon Houses must be built at 50 Cubits distance from a Town, in a Place that has 50 Cubits void Ground round it. Distances of Trees, Threshing Floors, Sepulchres, Houses where they dress Leather, and Pits where they soak Flax from a Town. Distances of Trees from Wells, Corn-Fields and Plantations of other Men. Three Years Possession in real Estates (where the Proprietor do's not reclaim) sufficient. Reasons must be assigned why Men enter upon Estates. Farther Laws relating to rightful Possession. Of building Windows, or things of a like nature, by which Men may look into the Courts or Houses of other Men. What things go along with a House, &c. when they are sold, and what not. Many particulars of this Nature. Of making Bargains void, when Commodities prove naught. Other Accidents which make Bargains void. Of Weights and Measures. Conditions to be observed when the whole Produce of a Ground is bought at one time. Of Pits in another Man's House. Of a House in another Man's Garden. Of ways passing through another Man's Ground. Of the quantity of Ground to be allowed for a Sepulchre. Forms to be used in buying and selling of Land. Of successions to Estates. Who Heirs to whom? Eldest Son must have a double Share; cannot be disinherited. Of Maintenance of Daughters after their Father's death. Of Maintenance of Sons and Daughters when left young. Where there is an Estate the Sons inherit, and the Daughters are maintained: If none, so that there is not enough for all, the Daughters are maintained, and the Sons must beg [*i. e.* must get their Livings as they can.] Various Cases of this nature. Donations in desperate Illnesses how far revocable when

when the sick Persons recover. Of Inheritances that fall to a Man and his Son, to a Man and his Wife, or to a Man and his Mother jointly. Of Bills of Divorce either open or folded up. Different sorts of Attestations to both. Husbands pay for writing Deeds of Espousals and Marriages. Tenant pays for Writings, when he takes Land. If Deeds relating to Debts are lost, the Averment of Witnesses shall be good.

4. *Sanbedrin. The Council.* Pecuniary and other inferior Causes to be try'd by the *Council of Three*. Capital Causes try'd by the *Council of Twenty-three*. Causes relating to whole Tribes, false Prophets and High-Priests, by the *great Council of Seventy-one*. Causes of High-Priests and Kings. Prerogatives of Kings. Method of trying pecuniary Causes. Who not competent Judges or Witnesses in those Matters. Relations, Friends and Enemies excepted. Method of bearing Witness. Of Examination of Witnesses. Causes may be put off 30 Days for want of Evidence. Method of trying pecuniary and capital Causes the same. Of the Order in which the Judges give Sentence. Form of sitting of Judges in the great Council. Way of striking terror into Witnesses. Questions of Time to which the Witnesses swear. What variation in the Evidence of Witnesses is sufficient to invalidate the whole, and what not. Where some Judges condemn, and others acquit. Place of Execution different from Place of Trial. Evidence for the Prisoner may offer itself after Sentence given. Prisoner exhorted to make Confession. That proved from the Case of *Achan*. Criminal stript at the Place of Execution. Witnesses assist in stoning, [*Deut. xvii. 7.*] Blasphemers and Idolaters hanged after stoning. Who not to be buried in the Sepulchres of their Fathers. Capital Punishments what? Stoning, burning, killing with the Sword, hanging on a Tree. Method of burning. Of beheading. Of strangling.

ling. Who to be stoned? Blasphemer, Idolater, Worshipper of *Moloch*, Wizzard who? Of Sabbath-breaking, and cursing of Father and Mother. Of lying with a betrothed Maid. Of seducing to Idolatry. Of a Magician. Of a rebellious Son. At what Age he may be called rebellious. Various Circumstances in that Case. Who to be burnt? Intention in all Mischief to be regarded, in order to acquit or condemn the Criminal. If a Man is liable to two sorts of Punishments, he must only suffer the heaviest. Of Men that commit the same Crime after scourging. Punishments for several sacrilegious Crimes. Who to be strangled? Of the rebellious Judge. Punishment in some Cases greater [in this World] to deny *Tradition* than the *written Law*. *ex. gr.* He that denies that *Phylacteries* are commanded [in the *written Law*, which is taken for granted by all the Masters], is only a *Heretick*, and consequently not liable to a capital Punishment; but he that says they ought to have five Cavities instead of four, and persists in that Assertion, if he is a Judge may be arraigned of Rebellion. The rebellious Judge must be try'd before the great Council. [They found all this upon *Deut. xvii. 12, 13.*] False Prophets to be put to death. What *Israelites* shall have no Place in the Happiness of the World to come. Particular Enumeration of those that shall be excluded.

5. *Maccoth. Stripes.* Of Punishments due to false Witnesses. Various Circumstances by which a false Witness may be convicted. In capital Cases false Witnesses are punishable with Death, when Sentence is given in favour of the Person whom they accused. False Witnesses must be convicted by two Evidences. A Prisoner found guilty of a capital Crime, who makes his escape, is to be executed when he is retaken. For what Crimes Men are to be banished. Of flying to Cities of Refuge. Regulations of the wise Men about that matter. Who never go out of Cities

ties of Refuge? Who are to be scourged? When they find that the Criminal is not able to undergo the whole Punishment, the Officer is to leave off. If an Offender is to be scourged twice, the second Punishment not to be inflicted till he is cured of the first. Particular Enumeration of all the Offences for which scourging is due. Stripes not to exceed 39. Stripes given by three at a time. Method of scourging. During the Execution the Judge is to repeat *Deut. xxviii. 58, 59.*

6. *Shevuoth. Oaths.* Four sorts of Oaths, two [Assertory] of Things past and to come. Two [Promissory] negative and affirmative. Digression concerning Atonements in Cases where the Ignorance was not entire, and concerning various sorts of perfect and imperfect Pollutions. Of negative Oaths, *ex. gr. if a Man swears that he will eat no Bread.* If he then eats all sorts of Bread, the Perjury is but one; but if he swears that he will *eat neither Barley, nor Wheaten, nor Rye-Bread,* the Perjury multiplies as he multiplies his eating of the several sorts. The same in Drinks. If a Man swears to omit the observation of a Precept, and do's not omit it, he is free. If a Man swears to Contradictions he is guilty but of one Perjury. Vain Oaths what? Who may swear vainly. Women [in many Cases] not obliged to give Evidence upon Oath, [This they prove from *Levit. v. 1. and Deut. xix. 17.* It is certain the Masculine Gender is used in both Texts, but one sees that this gives great Latitude to horrible Knavery.] Form of Adjuration answered in the affirmative by *Amen.* Of convicting of Witnesses of Perjury. Various Forms of Adjuration, *i. e.* Examination upon Oath. Of swearing in Cases of Trust. Of Fornication. Of Theft. In other Cases of *Meum* and *Tuum.* Of Cases where Men are not put to their Oaths. Where Money is lent upon a Pawn that is lost. Where Men are robbed or wounded. Of Shop-keepers swearing to

to their Books. Of those that have what is another Man's in their Custody. The Oath of him who keeps any thing for another Man *gratis*, if it come to damage, absolves him when he swears that he was not privy to the Damage. Several Cases of this kind, with the Punishment in Case of Perjury.

7. *Edujoth. Opinions or Attestations* [of Doctors in controverted Cases.] This Title relates to Cases where the Tradition is uncertain, and the Doctors are divided. It begins with an Exemplification of Numbers of particulars chiefly relating to Sanctities and Pollutions, [about which Dissensions were usually warmest.] In very many of these we have an account of the different Opinions of the *Shammaeans* and *Hillelaeans*, besides the Opinions of other Doctors.

It is observable that there are very few Cases in which the *Shammaeans* were so gentle in their Determinations as the *Hillelaeans*. And if what I have hinted elsewhere holds good, as I verily think it does, this is very easily accounted for. The *Shammaeans* disown'd the *divine Authority of Traditions*; consequently then they resolved all into their private Judgment, in determining of which they went by this general Rule to decide every Thing in such a manner as they judged to be most conformable to the Letter of the Text. When they kept to that, they never concerned themselves at the rigour of the Penalty, or the Inconveniences which might otherwise ensue. The *Hillelaeans* on the other Hand recurred to their Traditions, whenever they had a mind to evade the Severity of any Law, but still so as to preserve a great seeming Concern for it. I wou'd here advise those that begin these Studies, to reserve this Title to the last, because it supposes a previous Knowledge of many things that are dispersed through the whole Body of the *Misna*, many of which require some Pains to understand them, even as they lie in their proper Titles; but when those things are well comprehended there,

there; this Title may be read with great delight and profit.

8. ^b *Avoda Zara*. *Strange (i. e. Idolatrous) Worship*. Commerce with Idolaters unlawful for three Days before any of their solemn Feasts. Idolatrous Feasts what? What Things may not be sold to Idolaters. Ornaments for Idols may not be made. Houses in *Judaea* may not be let to them. Various Cases where Dealings are allow'd, and where forbidden with Idolaters. Various Meats used by Idolaters which may not be eaten, though an *Israelite* may make a Profit by them. Other Things that may be eaten. No Images whatsoever may be bought or sold, or put to any manner of Use. Of using a Bath in which an Idol hath been set up. Hills or High-places consecrated by Idolaters, may be used by *Israelites* in things where religious Worship is not concerned. Of private Houses contiguous to Idol Temples. Difference between Houses, Stones, and Trees, which may be supposed to have been polluted by the Worship of Idols, or which may not. The Wood of a Tree that has been consecrated by Idolaters may not be put to any Use by an *Israelite*. Of Stones dedicated to

^b The curious Reader will, I believe, be pleas'd to see the following Misna entire. "Some Roman Senators examin'd [the Jews in this manner,] If [God] had no delight in the Worship of Idols, why did he not destroy them? The Jews made Answer, If Men had worshipt only Things of which the World had had no need, he wou'd have destroy'd [the Objects of their Worship.] Whereas now they worship the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, and Planets; [and then] he must have destroy'd his World for the sake of these deluded Men. But [still] said [the Romans] why do's not [God] destroy the Things which the World does not want, and leave those Things which it cannot be without? Because [reply'd the Jews] this wou'd strengthen the Hands of such as worship [these necessary Things], who wou'd say then, Ye allow now that these are Gods, since they are not destroy'd." *Avod. Zar. iv. 7.* There seems to me to be something very uncommon in this way of Reasoning.

Mercury. Of Idols and other Things which have been used to sacred Purposes, and afterwards profaned by Idolaters. Such Things may be used by *Israëlites* to profane Purposes, if Idolaters had profaned them in time of Peace. Of using Wine-presses in common with Idolaters. Of *Jewish* Labourers employed to make Wine for idolatrous Libations. Various Laws relating to that Matter. Instruments for eating and drinking may be used when their Pollution is taken away by proper Purgations.

9. *Pirke Avoth. Chapters of the Fathers.* History of Tradition. Various Apophthegms, and Sentences; some Moral, some Theological, some Historical of their wise Men. [This Title is by some supposed not to have been originally written by *R. Juda*, but added to the *Misna* afterwards.]

10. *Horaioth. Instructions.* Of Cases in which the great *Sanhedrin* may have through forgetfulness misled the People, by teaching that Things were lawful or unlawful, contrary to the written Text of the Law; in which Cases they were obliged to bring a Sin-Offering for themselves, and for the People. This was incumbent upon them, and not upon the People whom they misled, because it was their Duty to instruct the People, and it was the People's Duty to follow their Directions. [The Foundation of this whole Title is in *Levit. iv.*] If the *Sanhedrin* shou'd declare a whole set of Laws not obligatory, they need not bring a Sacrifice, because this wou'd be a Heresy [and consequently punishable by Excision,] not Forgetfulness. [For it is a receiv'd Maxim, and I think a very rational one, that the lesser Punishment is always swallow'd up by the greater.] Of Offences committed by the High-Priest, which are equal to those of the great Council. What Errors affect the Council, and the High-Priest, and what not? The *Sanhedrin* not obliged to Sin-Offerings for doubtful Offences (*i. e.* where he that offers is not sure he has offended.)

ed.) Duties of the anointed Priest. Difference between the anointed Priest, and him that is inaugurated by putting on the eight Vestments. Difference in Mourning between the High-Priest and the ordinary Priests. Of different Orders and Ranks among the *Israëlites*.



V. Seder Kodashim. Order of Sanctities
[or consecrated Things] contains the following Titles.

1. **Z**ebachim. Sacrifices. All Sacrifices ought to have their Title specify'd [*i. e.* of what sort they are,] at the time when they are offered. If they are offered by a different Name they are lawful [*i. e.* there is no harm done] but they do not answer the particular Design for which they are offered. Passover and Sin-Offerings especially require such Specifications. Intention of the Priest particularly required in such Cases. What Qualifications requisite in him that receives the Blood. Killing the Sacrifice, receiving, carrying, and sprinkling the Blood, must be done in the proper Places. What Niceties in all these make a Sacrifice invalid. Any Persons may kill, provided they do not touch the Flesh of the Offering if they be unclean. Niceties about receiving the Blood, and eating the Flesh; and concerning the Intention with relation to the sprinkling of the Blood. The Blood shed consecrates Burnt-Offerings and Sin-Offerings, that they may be consumed and eaten as the Law directs. Of Places where Sacrifices are to be offer'd. Burnt Sacrifices are to be killed, and the Blood receiv'd on the *North* side of the Altar. When Goats are killed at new Moons and stated Feasts,

their Blood is receiv'd at the *North* side of the Altar. Of the sprinkling upon the four Horns. Peace-Offerings, and the *Nazarite's* Goat may be killed any where in the Court. The Blood sprinkled at twice. First-born, Tith-Beasts, and the Passover, may be killed any where in the Court, but must be eaten by different Persons, as the Law directs. Sin-Offerings of Birds to be made at the *South-West* side of the Altar. Their Flesh belongs to the Priests, the Blood only to the Altar. Niceties of killing these Birds with the Nail, and squeezing out the Blood. Various Constitutions concerning Beasts intended for Sacrifices, which happen to be mixed with other Beasts. Of mixing of Members of Sacrifices of one sort with Members of Sacrifices of another sort. Of Blood mixed with Water or Wine, when fit and when unfit for sprinkling. Place of sprinkling either above or below a scarlet Thread that was tied round the Altar towards the middle, strictly to be observed in several sorts of Sacrifices. Laws relating to the Blood of several sorts of Sacrifices when mixed together. Of Things carry'd up to the Altar which may be so polluted that they must be carry'd down again unconsumed. The Altar, the ascent to the Altar, and the Holy Vessels, consecrate what they receive. [*i. e.* whatsoever is carry'd up to the one, and put into the other, is holy, and must be put to its proper Use, unless it be defiled.] Order of sacrificing. Daily and frequent Offerings must be made before additional and less frequent ones. [If the same Day happens to have several Feasts, *ex. gr.* the Sabbath, and a new Moon falling together, the daily Offering comes first, then the sabbatic Offering, then that for the new Moon.] In all Sacrifices what is most holy must be done first; so in what is to be eaten, what is holiest must be eaten first. Of the Blood of Sin-Offerings that falls upon the Priests Garments, when they must be [immediately] washed, and when not.

not. This to be done in the Sanctuary. Of sacred Vessels that contract Pollution in the Sanctuary during the time of Ministration. Of polluted Persons, who may, and who may not eat of the holy Things. To whom the Skins belong. Of Sin-Offerings burnt without the City, where the Cloaths of those that burn them are defiled. Of killing and offering without the Sanctuary. Guilt contracted in all these Cases. - What sort of Offerings may be made without the Sanctuary, without incurring the Guilt of Excision. Of different Sanctities of high Places, and other Places of Worship, before the Erection of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness, and of the Temple at Jerusalem, and after.

2. *Menacoth. Gifts* [or *Meat-Offerings*. As in *Levit.* ch. i. there are general Laws concerning whole-burnt-Offerings of live-Animals; so in ch. ii. we have the general Laws of Meat-Offerings, which are the Foundations of most part of this Title.] In Meat-Offerings the Design of him that offers must be specify'd. If not, though the Offering be receiv'd, yet it do's not answer the Offerer's Purpose; [so that he must bring another.] But in the Offering of Jealousy, and for the Sinner that has polluted any holy Things, it must be specify'd by Name, or it is invalid. Niceties about taking up the Handful, and mixing Oil and Frankincense with it. Where one part of the Offering is faulty, how far it affects the whole. Great Care lies upon the Priest in taking up the handful, of which several and various Laws. What Things *hinder* one another, [*i. e.* where one is faulty the whole is spoiled. *ex. gr.* In the Service of the Day of Expiation, there are two Goats, one sacrificed the other sent to *Azazel*: If one of these Goats be by any Accident rendred useless in the time of the Service, the other is of no Efficacy, and the whole Service is rendred invalid.] What Things do not *hinder* one another. Curious Constitutions upon

this Subject. What Meat-Offerings must be unleavened and what not? What require Oil and Frankincense, and what neither? What must be waved, and what only brought to the Priest, and *à contra*? Of Offerings in the Pan and Frying-Pan. In what Cases after the Altar's-handful is offered, the rest goes to the Priest. Of bruising the Corn for Flour, and other Circumstances of dressing. Laws of Thank-Offerings. Wheat-Flour used on these Occasions must be of the Growth of the Land of *Canaan*. Of the Ground it must grow in. Where the Olives must grow that are used to make Oil offered at these times. Of choosing of Olives for these purposes. Whence the Wine? Niceties in ordering it. Of the Measures used in Sacrifices. Of *Ephas*, *Logs*, and *Hins*. Laws of Drink-Offerings. What Sacrifices require Imposition of Hands, and what not? Who may lay Hands? Quantity of the Wave-Sheaf, when it is offered on the Sabbath, and when upon a Week-Day. [The Wave-Sheaf is properly that which was offered on the second Day of the Paschal Festival.] Ceremonies in preparing and offering it. Laws of Reaping in some Cases before the Wave-Sheaf is offered. Of kneading and baking the *Pentecostal* Loaves, and of the Shew-Bread. Measure of these Loaves, and of the Table. Of placing these Loaves upon the Table. Of the Frankincense placed by the Loaves. Sticks of solid Gold made in the fashion of hollow Reeds split in two, of which there were fourteen in every heap placed [with the flat side downwards] between the Loaves. Two heaps, and in every heap six Loaves. These Loaves must be placed on the Table, on the Eve of the Sabbath. The Offering of every kind must be specifically paid as it was vow'd. Several Niceties upon that Head. Burnt-Offerings paid by virtue of a Vow, must be offer'd in the Sanctuary. If they are paid in the Temple which

Onias

Onias (or, as the *Misna* calls him, *Chonio*) built in *Alexandria*, it is not sufficient.

3. *Cholin. Profane Things*. [This Title chiefly consists of Laws made by the wise Men, of which there are only obscure Foot-steps in the *written Law*.] Who may kill Sacrifices, and who not? With what Tools they may be killed? The Wind-pipe of Beasts must be cut through. Killing of Birds with the Nail must be behind the Head, of Beasts in the Throat. Farther Niceties in the killing of Birds and Beasts. Of killing of a Beast that was in danger of dying before. Killing of Beasts for any purpose that may possibly be interpreted to be apply'd to an idolatrous Use, unlawful. What Parts of the Bodies of Beasts come under the Notion of *Things torn, i. e.* so wounded before they are killed that their Flesh must not be eaten. What wounds do not make the Animal unlawful to be eaten? What wounds in Birds are unlawful, and what not? What are the Signs of unclean Birds? What Locusts and Fishes are clean? Of a Beast with young that is just bringing forth. What Rules he that kills a Beast in that Condition, both for Pollution, or for eating and not eating, because it may be lookt upon as torn, ought to observe. Several Laws about killing the Dam and her young one in the same Day [which is forbidden *Levit. xxii. 28.*] Laws concerning covering up of Blood in the Land of *Canaan*. Not necessary in the Sanctuary, [because there is no danger of giving offence.] With what Things Blood may be covered. Laws concerning eating the Sinew that shrunk. Of seething Flesh in Milk. Flesh of Birds excluded by the wise Men. Flesh of Fishes and Locusts not. Cheese must not be brought upon the Table with Flesh. Prohibitions of eating Suet and Blood. Which heaviest? Niceties of Uncleaness, relating to the Skins and Flesh of dead Beasts. Laws about the First-born of Cattel. Of First-fruits of Fleeces of Wooll. What

number of Sheep necessary to make First-fruits of Wooll due. Of taking the Dam with the Eggs. *Deut.* xxii. 6, 7. Niceties upon that Subject.

4. *Becoroth. First-born.* [Written Law in *Exod.* xiii. 2. xxxiv. 20. *Levit.* xxvii. 26, 27, 28. *Numb.* xviii. 15, 16, 17. *Deut.* xv. 19—23.] The Fole of an Als bought of, or sold to a *Gentile*, while the Als was big, is not holy by the Law of Primogeniture. Where an Als brought Twins what is to be done? Redemption only with a Lamb. If not redeemed it must be beheaded and buried. If a Cow is bought of, or sold to a *Gentile*, whilst with young, the Firstling is free. Priests and *Levites* must offer the Firstlings of clean Beasts, but are free from the Right of Redemption of the First-born of their Sons, or the Firstlings of their Asses. Of firstling Cattel which have a Blemish either lasting or moveable before Consecration. Of Sheep that bring forth Twins. Of Beasts bought of *Gentiles*, where it is uncertain whether they had brought forth young before they bought them. Of plucking off the Hairs of firstling Beasts. [See *Deut.* xv. 19.] Of the time from the Birth, when Firstlings are to be offered. Of proper Persons to inspect Firstlings whether they have any Blemish. Of the Fee that may lawfully be given for such Inspection. Who may not take Fees for the Execution of their Office. Laws concerning Persons suspected of not making just Declarations in this and other Cases. Consecrated Things which have contracted Blemishes [and consequently are unfit for Sacrifices] must be sold in the Market. Of the Nature of Things that cause Blemishes in firstling Cattel. Of the Testimony of those that keep Cattel, concerning the Blemishes of Firstlings. Enumeration of Blemishes in Cattel for which they must be killed, and not sacrificed. Of Blemishes in Men, upon the account of which they may not exercise the Priest's Office. Of those who may succeed to an Inheritance, but not to the

the Priesthood. Of those Firstborn who may succeed to the Priesthood, but not to an Inheritance. Of those who may succeed to both, and those who may succeed to neither. Of Women that bring First-born Twins. Redemption must be made with ready Money. What sort of Debts do not sink in the Year of Jubilee. Of Tithing of Cattel. Of Cattel that feed at a distance from one another. At what distance they may be brought into one Fold to be tithed. What Beasts are exempted by reason of legal Imperfections from being tithed? What the stated times of tithing? Manner of Separation of Tithe Cattel.

5. *Araccin. Estimations.* [Of Things consecrated. Written Law at large in *Levit. xxvii.*] All Persons [in the Covenant] that have any Understanding, may value or be valued. *Gentiles* may be valued, but shall not value. Of the Estimation of dying Men. Of Women in Labour who are to be executed. No Estimation lower than one *Shekel*. [The Masters bring the lowest Estimation in the Law, which is three *Shekels*, *Levit. xxvii. 6.* to one *Shekel* in case of Poverty.] No Estimation higher than fifty *Shekels*. Other Laws by way of Digression, in which there is a certain Measure, which none may exceed nor diminish. How Estimations may be heighten'd or lower'd. Poor Men's Vows how to be valued. Estimations of Lepers cannot be alter'd. Where a Man consecrates so much as he weighs, that must be paid in Money; and if the Species be named (as Silver, for Example, or Gold) then the specifick Metal must be paid. If a Man declares that he consecrates all he is worth, how that is to be valued. Other Niceties, upon the same subject. Orphans Goods sold to pay Debts, must be notify'd thirty Days before. In Sales of consecrated Things there must be sixty Days notice. Of Men in Debt that consecrate their Substance. When a Man's Goods are sold for Debt,

Debt, what Things must be left behind. Consecrations of Land must not be made within two Years before the *Jubilee*, nor in a Year after. In the Year of *Jubilee* the full value must be given. Where no Redeemer appears in the Year of *Jubilee*, the Propriety goes to the Priest. In what Cases of Redemption a fifth must be added. In Cases of devoted Things [see *Levit.* xxvii. 28.] no Man must devote all he has. What is devoted must be the proper Possession of him that devotes it. Devoted Things must not be redeemed. A Man may devote what is already consecrated. Lands sold in the Year of *Jubilee*, may not be redeemed under two Years. Houses [in Cities] that are sold, must be redeemed within a Year. Other Laws relating to Houses in Cities. Of Redemptions where an *Israelite* inherits from a Levite, or a Levite from an *Israelite*. [See *Levit.* xxv. 32.]

6. *Temurah. Exchange.* [Of one Sacrifice to another. Written Law *Levit.* xxvii. 9, 10.] Whoever exchanges is obnoxious to the Penalty of scourging. Allowing that Penalty, all sorts of Persons may exchange. Sin-Offerings, Trespass-Offerings, Firstling-Cattel, and Tithe-Cattel, must not be exchanged. What sort of Beasts may be exchanged for what? No Exchange for Birds or Meat-Offerings. Publick Sacrifices [*i. e.* those which concern the People, and not one single Person] may not be exchanged. Of the Issue of Things exchanged, how far it is holy. In Peace-Offerings the Issue is for ever holy. [*i. e.* If the Cow be exchanged, and consequently holy; the Calf of that Cow, and that Calf's Calf, and so on for ever, are likewise holy.] Other Laws relating to this Subject. When Things are consecrated, and cannot afterwards be found, so that others must be substituted in their rooms, both are holy. Firstlings may be consecrated in the Womb of the Dams, not afterwards. [This is Knavish. The Male Firstlings are the Lord's already, so that in such consecrations a Man gives nothing;

thing; but if he has occasion to offer a Sacrifice, and is willing to save Charge, this Evasion is found out; for thereby the Expence of one Sacrifice is saved: For, say they, whilst the Firstling is in the Womb, it is not properly the Lord's, because that only that *opens the Matrix* is his.] Laws of Exchanges of whole Burnt-Offerings and Peace-Offerings. Things that may not be offer'd upon the Altar are forbidden, not only entire, but in never so small a quantity. The Hire of a Whore what? The Price of a Dog what? [See *Deut. xxiii. 18.*] Niceties upon that subject. Difference between Things holy to the Altar, and things consecrated to the Reparation of the Temple. Sanctities never changed, [*i. e.* Burnt-Offerings must not be changed into Peace-Offerings, and *è contra.*] Of holy Things [not fit to be offered] what must be bury'd, and what burnt?

7. *Cerethoth. Excisions.* Thirty six Breaches of the Law threatned with Excision. These are Sins, which when committed presumptuously, are threatned with Excision; when thro' Ignorance, there must be a Sin-Offering; when it was uncertain whether they were committed or no, a Trespass-Offering for an uncertain Offence (which the *Jews* call *Eshem Talui*) was prescrib'd. [This Title relates chiefly to Cases of these sorts, and lays down Rules by which Men may judge what is Presumption, what Ignorance, and what Doubtfulness.] In Cases of Blasphemy no Ignorance allow'd. Of Offerings of Women after Child Birth. Whether Offerings must be brought in Cases of doubtful Abortions. Niceties relating to Women's Offerings in those and other Cases. Sin-Offerings constantly offered in four Cases. For bodily Uncleanness in Men; for the same in Women; for Child-births; for Lepers. Sin-Offerings in four Cases, though the Offences be committed through Ignorance. For lying with a betrothed

trothed Maid-servant; for Pollutions of *Nazarites*; for swearing falsely in Cases of Evidence, and for unjust Detention of a Pledge. Where one Offering will serve for many Transgressions. Of *ascending* and *descending* Sacrifices [*i. e.* where they are different according to the Circumstances of the Persons that bring them] in five Cases. Who the Maid-servant? [in the Law concerning the betrothed Maid-servant whom a Stranger lies with.] Cases of Ignorance concerning the forbidden Fat. Cases in which one single Fact committed obliges the Sinner to more Sin or Trespass-Offerings than one. Various Niceties relating to these sorts of Things. What eating of Blood is threatned with Excision, and what not? Of Errors in Sins relating to Trespasses committed in holy Things, [of which in the next Title.] When of two Pieces of Things that may be eaten, one profane [or common] the other holy; one is eaten, and it is uncertain which, what Atonement must be made? Various Cases upon this Head. When a Sacrifice is brought, or offered in a doubtful Case, and that afterwards is certainly known, what is to be done? When a Sacrifice is brought or offered in a certain Case [*i. e.* what was then thought so] and afterwards it is found to be otherwise, what is to be done? Sin-Offerings when due, and not offer'd, are not excused by the great Expiation, but must be brought the Day after. Offerings in doubtful Cases excused by the great Expiation. Son not obliged to offer a Sin-Offering for his Father's Offence. Of changing one sort of Sacrifice for another in *ascending* and *descending* Cases.

Before the Reader leaves this Title, he ought to know that *Cereth*, which is the Punishment from whence it takes its Name, and which answers to the *cutting off a Soul from among his People*, is always understood by the *Jews* to be *Death*, inflicted by the Hand of God, and not by an Executioner.

8. *Meila. Trespasses in holy Things.* [Written Law in *Levit. v. 15, 16.*] Offences of this kind committed by Priests in Offerings of Cattel. In those of Birds. In ordering of the Shew-Bread. In Meat-Offerings. In the handful, Frankincense, and other Parts of Offerings. What consecrated Beasts must be left to die a natural Death. Of Trespasses in the Blood, and Ashes taken off the Altar. Of difference between Trespasses in Things for the use of the Altar, and Things for the reparation of the Temple [*i. e.* where the Profit of those Things goes towards the Repairs of the Temple.] Cautions to prevent Trespasses in consecrated Things of several sorts. Various Niceties relating to the several sorts of Prohibitions of consecrated Things. How little Quantity in value of any sacred Thing, causes a Trespass, [so as to oblige the Offender to the Restitution required by the Law.] Several Alleviations in this matter. [*ex. gr.* To embezel sacred Money to the least value, is certainly a Fault, but then this is no legal Trespass, *i. e.* requires no Restitution of Principal and Fifth, and Trespass-Offering] till he that took this Money gives it to another; because, forsooth, he makes no Profit of it, as long as he keeps it uselessly by him^c. When holy

^c This Misna is so very extraordinary, that I shall set it down at length, both in Hebrew and English; and the rather, because it is not exactly rendred into Latin by Surenhusius.

נשל אבן או קורה של הקדש הרי זה לא מעל. נתנה לחבירו
הוא מעל. וחבירו לא מעל. בנאה בתוך ביתו הרי זה לא מעל
עד שירור תחתיה בשוה פרושה. נשל פרושה של הקדש הרי זה
לא מעל. נתנה לחבירו הוא מעל. וחבירו לא מעל. נתנה לבלן אף
על פי שלא רחצ מעל. שהוא אומר לו הרי מרחצ פתוחה
הבגס ורחצ:

“ If a Man takes away a consecrated Stone, or Beam, he
commits no Trespass. If he gives it to his Companion he com-
mits a Trespass, and his Companion commits no Trespass. If
“ [be

holy Things are sent [to Jerusalem] by a Messenger, who may trespass, the Sender or the Messenger.

9. *Tamid. Daily Sacrifice.* [Written Law in *Exod.* xxix. 38—42.] In what Places the Priest kept watch in the Temple. Of cleaning the Altar, and washing themselves, and casting Lots to perform that Service in the Morning before it was broad-Day. When the Altar was cleaned, they laid the Ashes in a Heap in the middle, and brought the Wood. When the Wood was set on fire, they drew Lots again for the bringing the Parts of the Sacrifice, and laying them at the bottom of the Altar. When Day-light was clear and full, the Sacrifice and Instruments were brought. The Sacrifice was killed when the sound of the opening of the great North Gate was heard. Then the Candlestick, and the Altar of Incense were cleared of their Ashes. Of tying the Lamb to the Rings, at the North-West side of the Altar, and killing him there. His Feet were not broken, but he was flayed, his Head cut off, and his Parts laid in order.

“ [he puts it by way of] building into his House, he commits no
 “ Trespass till he lives [long enough] in that House to gain [by
 “ that Stone or Beam] the value of a Pruta. If he takes away
 “ a consecrated Pruta, he commits no Trespass; if he gives it to
 “ his Companion he commits a Trespass, but his Companion com-
 “ mits no Trespass. If he gives it to a Bath-keeper he commits a
 “ Trespass, tho’ he do’s not bath; because [the Bath-keeper] says
 “ to him, see the Bath is open, go in and bath.”

Pruta here signifies the smallest piece of Brass Money that the Jews used in exchange. The Woman in the Gospel that put two Mites into the Treasury, put in two Pruta’s.

This whole Misna is very crude; but what may we not expect from Men who cou’d evade the fifth Commandment in the manner we find that they did in Matt. xv? The later Doctors seem to be ashamed of it; and therefore to palliate it, we are told by the Commentators that this Companion is understood by the Gemarists to be the Treasurer of the Temple, under whose Custody these holy things were kept before: But I very much suspect that this is a subterfuge, invented by the later Doctors, to cover the flagrant Injustice of their ancient Masters. Be that as it will, nothing can excuse his Trespass who first made those Embezzlements.

Ceremonics

Ceremonies observ'd in the placing of the several Parts. Order in which every Man receiv'd his respective Portion. The Governour [*i.e.* he that directed the other Priests in doing their Offices] bid them then pronounce the Blessings; then also they read the *Shema*. Then he order'd new Lots to be drawn for offering Incense, and laying the Parts of the Sacrifice upon the Altar. Those that were cast out by Lot, had their holy Garments taken off, which were laid by, all but their Drawers, and then they went out [and put on profane ones]. Ceremonies us'd in offering Incense. Ceremonies when the High Priest offer'd Incense in Person.

10. *Middoth. Measures.* [Of the Temple.] Priests kept watch in three Places of the Temple. Levites in twenty one Places. There were five Gates that open'd into the Courts of the Temple from without. Seven Gates in the great Court. Four Chambers in the Place where they kept the Fire. Doors of the Fire-place. Description of the Fire-place. Hill of the Temple 500 Cubits Square. Particular Descriptions and Measures of Partitions, Courts, Chambers, Altar of Burnt-Offerings, and its Horns. Of the Ascent up to the Altar, and the Stones with which it was built. Of the Rings to which they fastned their Sacrifices, and the Places where the Sacrificers slay'd and divided their Offerings at the *North* side of the Altar. Of the great Laver. The great Porch of the Temple. The Beams of Cedar which came out like a Frize. The golden Vine over the great Porch of the Temple. The great Door 20 Cubits high, and 10 Cubits broad. The folding Doors. Length and Breadth of the Temple 100 Cubits. Other Particulars of the Temple, the Courts and the Chambers in the several Courts.

11. *Kinnim. Birds-nests.* This Title relates to Mistakes which might be committed by accident when Birds were brought to the Priest to be sacrificed.

When

When any Bird or Beast was brought for that Purpose, there was a necessity of making an explicit Declaration for what sort of Sacrifice that Bird or Beast was intended: If Beasts for Burnt-Offerings and Sin-Offerings were at any time mixed, so that they could not tell which was which, none of them were offered; but they were all put into separate Pastures, and there dy'd a natural Death. In Birds there was more danger of mistake; where a Leper, and a Woman after Child-birth, and Men and Women after any other Uncleanesses might come at the same time: Rules how to manage in those Cases are here set down, some of which concern the People, and some the Priest.



VI. Seder Tahoroth. Order of Purifications. *In this Order more than in any of the rest, the true Pharisaical Spirit which our Blessed Lord so severely reprehends in Matt. xv. and Mark vii. is plainly and fully seen. All these Constitutions had an original Foundation, or at least pretended to have, in the written Law; but then under that Pretence they multiplied, divided and subdivided every thing so many ways, that what they say upon many of these Heads, cannot be described so as to become tolerably intelligible in a narrow compass, especially*

especially where what they say is immediately built upon Tradition. I shall therefore do little more than name the principal Heads upon which many of these Titles treat, without entring into the detail of Particulars. This Order contains the following Titles.

1. **Celim. Vessels.** Principal Heads of great (or as they call them) heavy Pollutions. Gradations of Pollutions (*i. e.* which cause greater Uncleanness one than another.) Gradations of Sanctities (*i. e.* which holier than others.) Of several sorts of Vessels, as Wood, Stone, Earth, Leather, Bone, Metal and Glas. [By *Vessels* here are meant all manner of Utensils, which Men can use, but chiefly Vessels of Capacity.] This whole Title, which is much the longest in the whole *Misna*, is taken up with Niceties relating to the Cleanness or Uncleanness of all sorts of Vessels which are made of those Materials.

2. **Oholoth. Tents.** Of Pollutions from the Dead. [Written Law in *Numb.* xix. 11—22. This Title is denominated from *v.* 14. where we have the Text which pronounces the Tent in which a Man dy'd whilst he was in the Camp, and every thing within it, to be unclean.] In this Title there is a vast variety of Cases relating to the Degrees of Uncleanness, and Distances at which People may receive Pollution from dead Bodies. Of Pollutions from Sepulchres, and Places where dead Bodies formerly bury'd have been dug up, and their Bones scatter'd about.

3. **Negaim. Plagues.** Of Leprosy in Men, Garments and Houses. [*Levit.* xiii, xiv.] Rules of discerning Signs of Leprosy. At what times infected Persons are to be view'd. How the Examination is

to be made. No Man may view his own Plague. Every Man may make this view that can see, but the Priest only is to pronounce upon Uncleanneſs. What Plagues are not compleat till the ſecond Week. Of white Hairs. Various Rules relating to the bright Spot, and the quick raw Fleſh. Of the Scall in the Head, and the yellow Hairs. Of Leproſy in Garments. Garments made of Camels Hair and Sheeps Wool mixed, were never infected, where the Camels Hair was in the greateſt quantity. [How theſe wiſe Men came to know this I cannot diſcern; but the pretence is, becauſe Linen and Woollen Garments, and Skins, are only mentioned upon this occaſion in *Leviticus*; therefore, ſay they, Cloaths made of any other Materials, are never infected. Nay they go ſo far as to ſay, that Skins and Garments dy'd with other Colours beſides the natural, are not infected.] Of Leproſy in Houſes. Method of examining them. Various Niceties about the matter. Of Pollutions occaſion'd by a Leper's going into a Houſe, or an Aſſembly. Method of purifying of Lepers. Niceties concerning the Birds, the Cedar, and the Hyſſop, which they uſed in their Purifications.

4. Para. The [Red] Heifer. [Written Law in *Numb. xix.*] Of Ages in which Beaſts ought to be uſed for Sacrifices. What Things render the Heifer unfit. Separation of the Priest who is to burn her. Of ſprinkling him for ſeven ſucceſſive Days with the Blood of Heifers killed for Sin-Offerings. The Heifer was carry'd to the Mount of *Olives*, and there burnt. The Priest waſh'd himſelf before he killed her. Blood ſprinkled towards the moſt holy Place ſeven times. When the Cedar, Hyſſop and Scarlet Wool are to be thrown into the burning. Ceremonies to be uſed at the burning, without which the whole becomes unfit. Of Veſſels in which the Aſhes and running Water are to be kept. Several Niceties upon that ſubject. Of Conſecration of Water, and putting

putting some of the Ashes of the Heifer into it, in order to purify him that is polluted by the Dead. Of keeping this Water till it is used. Miscellaneous Laws concerning the Pollution of Waters. Of Hyssop when fit, and when unfit for this use. Niceties concerning sprinkling with Hyssop.

5. *Taboroth. Purifications.* This Title relates to lesser Uncleanesses, which last but for a Day, and then the Person who contracts them washes himself and his Cloaths in Water, and is unclean until the Evening. It begins with eating Carcasses of clean Birds that die of themselves, or are torn to pieces. Of these particularly the Law in *Levit. xvii. 15.* is interpreted by the Masters. After the *Misna* has done with these, it runs into Digressions containing various Niceties concerning the several Degrees of these lesser Pollutions, by which some Things are declared to be in a higher degree unclean than others. Here are also many Resolutions of Doubts relating to these Things, in Cases in which Men may not know whether they are polluted or not. Here also are various Niceties concerning Presses in which Olives are bruised to draw out Oil, in order to know when Uncleanesses are in those Cases contracted, and in what Degrees. The same of Wine-presses.

6. *Mikvaoth. Collections of Water.* [Title from *Levit. xi. 36.*] Of Collections of Water in which those that are unclean may wash themselves. [No legal Pollution can be taken away without previous washing.] Degrees of Cleanness in Water. Cisterns that will hold 40 *Seas* of Water, will serve for all Pollutions where the whole Body must be washed, except in those Cases where the Persons are to be washed in running Water. [The reason of this is, because they supposed that a Bath or Cistern that held 40 *Seas* wou'd be sufficient to immerge the whole Body in; that so every part of it might be wetted at one time, which they asserted, and not

without reason to be necessary where the Law required Bathing.] When a Collection of Waters is less than 40 *Seas*, three *Logs* of unclean Water cast in to it will pollute it. Cautions concerning keeping this Water from Pollution. What Things will pollute it? When two go in to wash, one after another in the same Bath, the first only is cleansed. Niceties concerning the Things which Men and Women may carry about them when they bath. [Because if their whole Bodies are not wetted, the bathing goes for nothing, and Garments or Coverings about any part of the Body may be supposed to hinder that Part from being wetted.]

7. *Nidda. Menstrual Pollutions.* The Constitutions concerning all sorts of Feminine Pollutions, which are mentioned in the Law, are comprized in this Title.

8. *Macshirin.* [Liquids that] *dispose to Pollution.* Title founded upon *Levit. xi. 38.* If any WATER be put upon the Seed, and any part of their Carcass fall thereon, it shall be unclean unto you. Their Carcass here, is the Carcass of any of those unclean living Creatures that are specify'd before in that Chapter. It is plain from this and the foregoing Verse, that if any of these Carcasses, or part of them, falls upon any Thing that grows out of the Ground, which is gathered for eating [for so the Masters interpret Seed in this Verse] whilst it is dry, it do's not pollute, or make those Victuals unclean; but if they are moistened with any liquid Thing, which is call'd *Water* here, then that liquid Thing *disposes* them to receive Pollution, and then any unclean Thing which falls upon them when they are moistened, will pollute them; which it would not have done before. How therefore, and when, and in what quantity these liquids dispose to Pollution; and how, and when, and in what quantity not, is the Argument of this Title. Here at first they tell us that if these Victuals, (or as the

the Text in *Leviticus* calls them *Seeds*, because they grow out of the Ground) be wetted *with the Owner's leave*, they are *disposed*, i. e. they are liable, to *pollution*, when any unclean Carcass falls upon them, otherwise not. [The Ground they go upon is this; eatable Herbs, as Sallads, Corn, and some sorts of Fruits are seldom eaten dry. When they are moistened, i. e. soaked, or kneaded, or boiled, or any other way mixed with the proper liquid, they become fit for Food: Then after they are so moistened they may be polluted. Could they be polluted when they were dry, by the putting any part of an unclean Carcass upon them, so many Accidents might happen, that Men might be deprived very often of their necessary Sustenance. The Masters therefore have determined, that whatsoever unclean Thing falls upon any Plant whilst it is growing, do's not *dispose* any part of that Plant to *pollution*; for it cannot be eaten either wet or dry whilst it grows, but when it is gathered it may; and it is sown first, and gathered afterwards, for that purpose. And this wetting too ought to be done with the *Owner's leave*, because otherwise it might be in the power of any Man that had a spite at another, to pollute his Victuals, and so make them unfit for use.] The Liquors that *dispose to pollution*, are determined by the Masters to be seven; Dew, Water, Wine, Oil, Blood, Milk and Honey. Most of these Constitutions are extremely superstitious.

9. *Zabim*. Men that have seminal Uncleanesses. [Written Law in *Levit. xv. 1—19.*] Ways of judging of these Pollutions. How these Pollutions operate so as to pollute other Things. How far Things may be polluted which are touched, or set upon, or lain upon by these polluted Persons. Various Niceties in all these Cases.

10. *Tebul Jom*. He that is washt by Day. The Foundation of this Title is principally taken from the Laws

given to the Priests *Levit. xxii.* concerning their Purifications after any Uncleaness, and afterwards eating of the holy Things. Now there it is provided (*v. 6, 7.*) that the Person to be cleansed must first be washt whilst it is Day: Then after the Sun is set, he may eat of the holy Things, but not before. This holds also in all other Cases of Pollution. The washing must be performed before the Sun sets: When the Sun is down, the Person or Thing so washed is entirely clean. Consequently then, since the Cleanness is not entire till after the Sun is set, the Person or Thing thus *washt by Day* communicates some, tho' a small measure of Uncleaness to any holy Thing that is touched by them before Night. That gives rise to the Laws in this Title, in which these *Reprobations*, as the Masters call them, are particularly handled: For they teach that the holy Thing so touched is not so polluted as to communicate Pollution to any thing else, but only made *reprobate* or *useless* for Food.

II. *Jadaim. Hands.* The Constitutions in this Title have no Foundation in the written Law. The Masters ordained that before any Men who profess to observe the Law with care, ate common Bread, they shou'd wash their Hands; but they allowed them to eat *dry Fruits* with unwashen Hands^d. The manner of

^d This Title finely explains what we have in the Evangelists, (in *Matt. xv.* and *Mark vii.*) concerning the Dispute of the Scribes and Pharisees with our Blessed Lord about eating Bread with unwashen Hands. BREAD here is emphatically mentioned by these Evangelists, tho' the Emphasis has been overlooked by Christian Interpreters, who have supposed that by Bread here is meant all manner of Food that may be eaten: But Maimonides tells us the contrary in his Preface to this Title. I use the Translation of Surenhusius, not having the Original by me. *Lotio manuum requiritur pro eo qui Panem comedit, licet Panis sit profanus,* Hinc

of washing in common Cafes was to pour Water out of an Ewer or some such Vessel upon their Hands. This pouring of Water they called *Netilath Yadaim*, and they determined the quantity of Water so poured to be at least a quarter of a Log. It was poured upon their Hands, which were lifted up so as to fall downwards from the Fingers to the Wrists, or as some say to the Elbows. (This well explains the *Πύσις* in St. Mark vii. 3.) If their Hands were actually polluted before by touching any Thing which was either manifestly unclean, or at least what might have disabled them from eating the *Truma*, they used two Waters. The first Water removed the Impediment, the second Water washed off the first which was supposed to be polluted by the prior Pollution of the Hands. If one Hand was washed, and not the other, and the unwashen Hand touched the Hand that was washed, they became both unclean. This is wholly to be understood of lesser Pollutions; in other Cafes the whole Body was washed, and consequently came not within the present question. If the Person that washed, had a mind to eat the *Truma*, he was obliged to put his Hands into a Cistern of Water which held 40 Seas; but this they were not obliged to do when they only ate common Food; and then, if

Hinc dixerunt quisquis immergit in Potus, is opus habet lotionem manuum. Sed propter Fructuum profanorum Esu non requiritur Loto manuum; hinc dixerunt, si quis Manus laverit ob Esu Fructuum, is OSTENTATOR est. These last Words point out the OSTENTATION which our Lord here condemns. I have not seen any Christian Writer upon the New Testament that takes notice of this thing. Dr. Pocock in his *Notae Miscellaneae* in Portam Moysi, cap. ix. has a very beautiful Dissertation upon these sorts of washings, wherein those that would know the various and superstitious Usages which the Elders practised upon these Occasions may be fully satisfied: But I do not remember that he says any thing of the difference between eating Bread with washed Hands, and dry Fruits with those that were unwashed.

their Hands were certainly clean, they need only use one washing. This *Immersion of the Hands* they called *Tebilath Jadaim*. In the conclusion of this Title we have an account of some Differences between the *Pharisees* and the *Sadducees* about touching the *holy Writings* with their Hands, which is very remarkable. The *Doctors* ordained, that whosoever touched any part of the *Books of the Law*, or the *Prophets*, must not eat of the *Truma* till they had washed their Hands. The Reason they gave was this. In times of Persecution they used to hide these *sacred Books* in secret Places, and at other times good Men wou'd of course take care to lay them by in some Place that was out of the way, when they had done reading in them. It was possible then, and probably it sometimes so happen'd, that the Parchments upon which these Books were written, might be gnawed by Mice. The Hands then of those that touched these Books, when they took them out of the Places where they had laid them up, were supposed to be unclean, so far as to disable them from eating the *Truma* till they were wash'd: Upon that account they made this a general Rule, that if any part of the *Bible* (except *Ecclesiastes*, because that Book, forsooth, was accounted less holy than the rest) or their *Phylacteries*, or the Strings of their *Phylacteries*, were touched by one that had a right to eat the *Truma*, he might not eat it, till he had wash'd his Hands. The *Sadducees* laugh'd at this, as well they might, and in Truth it appears to be as wild a piece of Superstition, as any in the whole *Pharisaical Law*.

12. *Oketfim. Footstalks*. This Title is collected from the written Laws by their ways of Argumentation. It is founded upon *Levit. xi. 37, 38.* as the Title *Macshirin* was before. The Nicety which the *Masters* shew in this Affair is so very uncommon, that I shall set the first *Misna* down at length, and then

then explain it, from which explication the Intention of the Title will be well understood.

“ Any [Fruit that grows out of the Earth] which
 “ has a Handle, and no Keeper [may] be polluted,
 “ and [may] pollute; but [may] not be consoli-
 “ dated [with any thing that was unclean before.]
 “ If it has a Keeper and no Handle, it [may] be pol-
 “ luted, and [may] pollute, and [may] be consoli-
 “ dated [with any Thing that was unclean before.]
 “ If it has neither a Handle nor a Keeper, it neither
 “ [may] be polluted, nor do's it pollute.”

All this is to be understood of those Fruits which when they are to be eaten, are either polluted already, or are disposed to receive Pollution. The Pollutions here meant are of the lesser sort; for of the heavier sorts, such as Pollutions from the Dead, from a Leper, from Men and Women who labour under any carnal Uncleaness, or the like, there is no manner of Question. This in the general. By the *Handle* here *R. Juda* means the *Footstalk* of any sort of *Fruit*, or the *Straw* of any sort of *Grain*, by which that Fruit or Grain may be held in the Hand. The *Keeper* is the *Shell* or *Husk* of any *Fruit*, to which they join the *Stone* or *Kernel* in the same degree as to communicating Pollution. Now the Question is, When a Footstalk or Shell touches any polluted Thing, tho' the eatable part of the Fruit it self shou'd not touch it, is that eatable part of the Fruit polluted by the Pollution of this *Appendix*? That Question is determin'd in this *Misna*. The *Footstalk* may receive this lesser Pollution, and may communicate it to the Fruit: But if it shou'd be mixed with any polluted Thing whose quantity is less than that of an Egg, so that then the whole quantity, by this addition, shou'd become equal to, or bigger than an Egg, it will not render the whole not eatable: For the *Masters* hold, that what is less than an Egg, of a polluted Thing may be eaten. This joining of an unpolluted

polluted Thing with any Thing that is polluted, they call *Consolidation*, when the unpolluted thing is thereby render'd polluted: But if the Shell or Husk of any Fruit be polluted, it will pollute the whole Fruit; and if it be mixed with a *lawful* quantity of any polluted Thing, it causes the whole Mass to be polluted, if the quantity be thereby duly enlarged. Any *Appendix* to a Fruit which is neither *Handle* nor *Keeper*, cannot receive Pollution, and consequently cannot pollute. To this Head they refer the Hair and Wool that grows upon some Fruits, and the Beards of Barley or Oats. Niceties upon these Things in the several sorts of Fruits, or Herbs, or Grain, which were commonly used for Food in the Land of *Canaan* constitute this Title.

These are the several Titles of the Text of the *Traditional Laws of the Jews*. If the Texts of the *written Law*, upon which they are respectively founded, be carefully consider'd, it will not from this short Sketch be difficult to form a general Notion of the several Subjects upon which it treats.



A
DISCOURSE

Concerning the
Daily Recital of the SHEMA,
THE
Use of Phylacteries,

AND
SCHEDULES upon Gates and Door Posts.

SHEWING,

*That there is great reason to believe they
were actually enjoined to the Jews in
the Law of MOSES.*



IN my *Notes* upon Cap. I. §. 2. of the
Title *Shabbath*, I had occasion to men-
tion the *Recital of the Shema*, which
the *Rabbanist Jews* think themselves o-
blig'd to repeat twice at least every
Day. And then I produced the Pas-
sages which they daily read at length. It was too
long an Enquiry, and wou'd have diverted me too
much from my main Design, which was to explain
the Constitutions relating to the Sabbath, to examine
into

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into the Causes why it was first used, and so I said no more at that time: But the Enquiry it self, whether this Recital be actually commanded by the LORD in the Law of *Moses* or no, is of great Moment; and the more so, because it will naturally lead us to the Grounds of the Usage of the *Phylacteries* which our Saviour mentions *Matt. xxiii. 5.* and of the *Mezuzoth* or Paragraphs of the Law which were written on Parchments, and fastned to their Door Posts. Few Christian Interpreters, that I have met with, think either the Recital of the *Shema*, or the Use of *Phylacteries*, to be of divine Authority, but only Innovations of the latter *Jews*.

I shall begin with the *Shema*, because it is what the *Talmudists* lay the greatest weight upon, as being to be repeated at least twice every Day; and that, as they alledge, by virtue of a divine Command, given by God, and set down in the written Law of *Moses*.

Now I would observe in the first Place that this Recital (or as the *Misna* calls it, the *Reading*) of the *Shema*, is looked upon in the *Misna* as an indispensable part of the daily Service of every Jew. The first Title of that Body of the *Traditional Laws* of that People is called *Beracoth*, of *Blessings*, and the first Words of that Title are *Meeimathai korin eth Shema bearbith: From what Time do they read the Shema in the Evening.* The Paragraphs which constitute it are mention'd in that Title ^a in the Order in which I have set them; as that part of their daily Devotions, and in the *Tamid* ^b which treats of the daily Sacrifice of the Temple, they are named as parts of the Blessing which was to be pronounced before the People during the Time of the daily Sacrifice. The *Misna* was written in the next Age after the De-

^a *Beracoth. ii. 2.*

^b *Tamid. v. 1.*

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struction of the second Temple, when their Traditions and Customs were fresh in their Memories, so that it evidently follows that this was the regular practice in our Saviour's time.

Our Lord seems to me plainly to allude to it in his Answer to the Lawyer, when he asked him which was the great or first Commandment of the Law. He came to tempt Jesus Christ, when he found that he had answered the Sadducees well, and by what St. Mark says of him he seems to have been an honest Man, for upon his agreeing to the Answer which was made to his Question, he receiv'd this Commendation, that he was not far from the Kingdom of God. His Question was, *Which was the first or great Commandment?* Our Lord answers in the Words of the *Shema*, *Hear, O Israel, &c.* This was a direct and a satisfactory Answer to the Pharisee, who, as we shall see hereafter out of the *Misna*, did look upon it as the first and great Commandment, and which he himself repeated every Night when he lay down, and every Morning when he rose up. This the Scribe did because it was (as he thought) commanded by God in *Deut. vi. 7.* Our Lord knew he thought so,

“ When the Pharisees had heard that he had put the Sadducees to Silence, they were gathered together. Then one of them which was a Lawyer, asked him a Question tempting him and saying, Master, Which is the great Commandment of the Law? Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Mind: This is the first and great Commandment.” Matt. xxii. 34—38. This same Account we have in St. Mark, who repeats it thus. “ And one of the Scribes came, and having heard them reasoning together, and perceiving that he had answered them well, asked him, which is the first Commandment of all? And Jesus answered him, The first of all the Commandments is, Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord; And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy Heart, and with all thy Soul, and with all thy Mind, and with all thy Strength. This is the first Commandment.” Mark xii. 28, 29, 30.

and

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and did not rebuke him; but by that his Answer he rather soothed him in his Error, if it was one, than otherwise: The Question then in short is, *Was this daily Recital of the Shema directly commanded in Deuteronomy, or was it an Innovation by the latter Jews; which being innocent at least, if not laudable, was not reprehended by Jesus Christ?* F. Lamy (an Interpreter of the Gospels; never to be mention'd without Reverence) seems to think it an Innovation; and that the ancient Jews recited it only in their publick Assemblies, and that it was turned into a daily Prayer afterwards by the latter Jews^d. The late excellent Bishop of Ely, Dr. Patrick, after having given us a very just Commentary upon the Words of the *Shema*, concludes with these Words: "The Jews have made from hence one of their *Affirmative Precepts*, That twice a Day, at least, they should recite those Words, *Hear, O Israël, &c.* which is a very dilute sense of this Precept: Wherein *Moses* requires not merely their saying these Words (in which there might be a great deal of Superstition) but taking all Opportunities to imprint them upon the Minds and Hearts of their Children^e." The Question is not, whether God required *their saying these Words MERELY*, which the Lawyer in the Gospel, who told our Saviour that this was the *first and great Com-*

^d Animadvertendum est haec Verba Legis, *Audi, Israël, Dominus Deus*, &c. quae Jesus allegaverat, Judaeis esse in peculiari veneratione. Illam partem Legis appellant *Fundamentum magnum*. Illa inquam verba *Audi, Israël*, & quae sequuntur quasi pro Fidei suae symbolo vetus Ecclesia Judaica usurpabat, ea recitans in publicis suis coetibus. Posteriores verò Judaei in preceptum converterunt, & sibi praeceptum esse putant repetere matutino & vespertino Tempore, puro lotoq; corpore, quam preceptum à primo suo Vocabalo *YHWH* id est *Audi* solent *Schema* appellare. Lamy Comment. in Harmon. quatuor Evangg. p. 469; 470.

^e Patrick Comment. on Deut; vi. 7. pag. 104.

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mandment, was very far from supposing; but whether he required it at all, as he certainly did their wearing of *Blew Fringes*^f, which was equally liable to be abused to Superstition. Several other Interpreters who are very large in condemning *Phylacteries* as superstitious Innovations, say nothing of this recital of the *Shema*.

For my part I am satisfy'd that we have all the Reason in the World to think that it was commanded in the Law of *Moses*, or that if it had not, our Lord wou'd have taken notice of it. For immediately after the Command itself, *Deut. vi. 4, 5* it immediately follows, "These Words which I command thee this Day, shall be in thine Heart; And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy Children, and shalt talk of them, when thou sittest in thine House, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." *Y. 6, 7. These words which I command thee this Day*, are what went just before, which our Saviour quoted to the Lawyer, and which he called the *first and great Commandment*. The Direction that they shou'd be repeated by the People of *Israel* when they lay down, and when they rose up, is as express as that of their being in their Hearts; and since it could be literally fulfilled, and especially since it was ushered in with so great solemnity, I do not see how it can possibly be evaded, or supposed to be figurative.

The Practice of the *Jews* in our Lord's time is to me of great weight. Whoever has been much used to the *Misna*, will find that the *Recital of the Shema* is mentioned there as a Thing commanded in the written Law, and not as part of the oral Law. The Doctors sometimes differ about the Time or Manner when it was to be recited, but as to the Command

^f *Numb. xv. 38, 39, 40.*

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itself founded on the Words quoted above, they are all agreed. Nor was it what they call a *Constitution* of Moses which he brought from Mount Sinai, for these *Constitutions*, were properly such as could not be gathered by Argumentation from the words of the written Law, and therefore that is never brought in to back their Authority. *Maimonides*, reckons up very many of them in his Preface to the *Seder Zeraim*, which are all superstitious Innovations of the later Jews &c. Besides, where Moses gave a Law, there was no Occasion for him to give a *Constitution*, which in its Nature was supposed to be *Oral*, and preserved by Tradition till the *Misna* was written.

This will appear in a clearer Light if the Rules of reciting the *Shema*, which are laid down in the *Misna*, be set down at length.

Beracoth Cap. I. §. I. "From what Time do they read the *Shema* in the Evening? *R. Eliezer* says from the Time when the Priests go into the Temple to eat their *Truma*, to the end of the first Watch, the wise Men say till Midnight. *R. Gamaliel* says till the rising of the Pillar of the Morning. A Case [happened once relating to this matter.] The Sons of *R. Gamaliel* came once from a Feast, and told him they had not recited the *Shema*.

§ Si quae dicta sint, quorum nullum occurrit in Textu indicium, neque ullam habeant ab eo Dependendam, neque inde elici argumentando possint, de his tantum dicunt, esse Constitutionem Moysi à Sinâ; and afterwards, Omnes Sententiae quae in Mishnâ recensentur, in has quinque Classes distribuuntur, ut sint I. ex illis Interpretationes quae Moysi nomine traduntur, ad quas in Textu digitus intenditur, aut quae ratiocinando elici possunt. II. Aliae quae sunt *Constitutio Moysi* à Sinâ. III. Aliae quae argumentatione eliciuntur, in quibus est Discrepantia. IV. Aliae Decreta. V. Aliae Constitutiones. *Maimon. Praefat. in Seder Zeraim ex versione Pocockii.* But of this I have spoken largely in my Discourse of the Nature and Authority of the *Misna*.

“ He

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“ He reply’d if the Pillar of the Morning is not risen,
 “ you are oblig’d to read it; and not only so, but
 “ but wherever the wise Men say till Midnight, the
 “ Command is, till the rising of the Pillar of the
 “ Morning. The Burning of the Fat and Members
 “ [of the Evening Sacrifice] may be performed [at
 “ any Time of the Night] till the rising of the Pil-
 “ lar of the Morning. Whatsoever is to be eaten
 “ the same Day, [may be eaten] till the rising of the
 “ Pillar of the Morning. If so, why did the wise
 “ Men say till Midnight? Because they wou’d keep
 “ Men a great way off from the Transgression.”

It is very plain from this *Misna*, that all these Men whose Decisions are here quoted, looked upon the *Shema* to be commanded in the written Law, because they join it with other Things directed there. But this will appear more plainly from what follows afterwards.

§. 2. “ From what Time do they read the *Shema*
 “ in the Morning? From the Time that they can
 “ distinguish Blew from White. *R. Eliezer* says
 “ [from the time when they can distinguish] Blew
 “ from Green, and they must have done by that time
 “ the Sun is up. *R. Joshua* says [they may stay] till
 “ the third Hour, because the Sons of Kings do not
 “ rise till the third Hour. He that reads it after-
 “ wards do’s not lose [his Reward, but is] like a
 “ Man that reads in the Law.”

Blew from White.] i. e. soon after the Day breaks: *Blew* and *Green* are so near akin, that it requires a stronger Light to distinguish them.

The third Hour] the mid-time, let it be what time of the Year it will, between Sun-rise and Noon.

Lose his Reward] *i. e.* though he should not have read the *Shema* when he rose, and thereby not have directly fulfilled the Command, yet if he reads it afterwards, it will stand him in the same stead as reading any other part of the Law would do. According to these Masters it is meritorious to read the Law at any Time, but the *Shema* more than any

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of the rest, because it ought to be read duly Night and Morning. It is worth observing that our Lord uses the same Form of Speech *Matt. vi. 2, 5.* when he speaks of doing of Alms. Those that do them in publick *have their Reward*, but it is from Men. Those that do them in private shall *have their Reward* from God. The Cases are not at all alike; all I would observe is, *That our Lord spoke to these Men in their own Style.*

§. 3. “ The *Shammaeans* say, That Men ought
“ to lie down in the Evening when they read; be-
“ cause it is said, *when thou liest down, and when thou*
“ *risest up.* The *Hillelaeans* say every Man may read his
“ own way, because it is said, *when thou walkest by*
“ *the way.* If so, why is it said, *when thou liest down,*
“ *and when thou risest up?* To shew that at the one
“ Hour Men are used to lie down, and at the other
“ Hour they are used to stand up. *R. Tarphon* said,
“ I was [once] upon the Road, and lay down to
“ read as the *Shammaeans* direct, and I was in Dan-
“ ger from Robbers. They answered him, Your
“ Guilt wou’d have deservedly lain upon your self,
“ because you transgressed against the Words of the
“ House of *Hillel*.

This is a very material Constitution to my purpose, be-
cause here we see the two Houses of *Shammai* and *Hillel*,
i. e. *Karaites* and Traditional Men, both joining in acknow-
ledging the divine Authority of the *Reading of the Shema*.
I have elsewhere observ’d that *Hillel* was one of the great
Patriarchs of the *Pharisees*, as *Shammai* was of the *Karaites*.

§. 4. “ In the Morning they use two Blessings
“ before [they read the *Shema*] and one after it. In
“ the Evening they use two Blessings before it, and
“ two after it. One Blessing is a long one, and one
“ a short one. Where they are commanded to use
“ the long Blessing, they must not use the short one:
“ Where they are to use the short Blessing, they must
“ not use the long one: Where they are to add the
“ Clause, they must not omit to add the Clause:

“ Where

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“ Where they are to add no Clause, they must not
“ add one.”

The two Blessings before the Recital of the *Shema*, are *Yotser Or*, and *Ababath Olam*: *The Former of Light*, and *Eternal Love*. That after the Recital is *Emeth vejatib*: *True and Certain*. They have their Names from the Initial Words as the *Shema* has. The Forms in the present Jewish Liturgies are very ancient, and supposed by *Maimonides* and *Bartenora* to be alluded to in this Place; for which reason I presume the curious Reader will not be displeased to see them entire, by which means he will know what the constant Morning Office of every Jew was in our Saviour's Time.

Yotser Or, The Former of Light, is as follows. “ Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the World, *Former of Light*, and Creator of Darkness: Maker of Peace, and Creator of all Things: Enlightner of the Earth, and of those that dwell therein, in Mercy: Who in Goodness dost every Day constantly renew the Works of the Creation. How great are thy Works, O Lord, in Wisdom hast thou made them all, the Earth is full of thy Possessions! Thou art the only King that exaltest them from everlasting. Thou art praised, honoured, and exalted from the eternal Days, O everlasting God; in thy great Mercies have Mercy upon us, O Lord, our Strength, thou Rock of our Exaltation, thou Shield of our Salvation, and our Tower of Defence: God is blessed, great in Knowledge, who ordered and made the Lights of the Sun; who formed what is good for the Glory of his Name; who hath given Lights which surround his Strength; the chief of his holy Armies which exalt the Almighty perpetually, declaring the Glory of God, and his Holiness. Blessed be thou, O Lord our God; in the Heavens above, and on the Earth beneath, for all the Praise of the Works of thy Hands, and for the lucid Luminaries which thou hast formed, these shall extol thee. *Selah*. Be thou Blessed for ever; our Rock, our King, our Redeemer, the Creator of holy [Angels]. Be thy Name praised for ever, O our King, who hast formed Ministers; who all minister and stand in the Heights of the World; who cause their Voices to be heard with Terror together in the Words of the Living God, and the Everlasting King. They are all lovely, all pure, all

N 2

“ mighty,

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"mighty, all holy, all performing the Pleasure of their
 "Master with Terror and Fear; and all opening their
 "Mouths in Holiness, in Purity; and with a Song, and
 "with Psalmody, they bless, and praise, and glorify, and
 "sanctify and declare the Terrors and the Kingdom of the
 "Name of God the great King, the strong and terrible
 "who is the holy one. And they all take the Yoke of the
 "Kingdom of Heaven upon them; one from the other,
 "and give Power one to the other [to perform their re-
 "spective Offices,] that their Maker may be sanctified with
 "a quiet Mind, with clean Lips, and with holy Sweetness.
 "They all answer as one Man with Terror, and speak
 "with Dread, holy, holy, holy Lord of Hosts, the whole
 "Earth is full of thy Glory; and the *Wheels and the Beasts* are
 "holy^h, and they exalt themselves against each other with
 "a mighty noise, praising and saying, Blessed is the Glory
 "of God from his Place. To the Blessed God pleasant
 "Songs shall be given. To the King, the living and stable
 "God, they shall sing Songs, and make his Praises to be
 "heard, for he only is high and holy, that worketh migh-
 "ty Things, that maketh new Things: Master of Battels;
 "Sower of Righteousness; Raisher up of Salvations; Cre-
 "ator of healing [Medicines]; Terrible in Praises; Lord
 "of Wonders; who reneweth his Goodness every Day
 "constantly in the Works of the Creation. As it is said,
 "To him that made great Lights, for his Mercy endureth
 "for ever; and hath put his Lights in Order, by which he
 "hath made his World that he hath created glad. Blessed
 "art thou, O Lord, thou Former of Lights.

This is the first Blessing that is read before the *Shema*.
 The next is *Ababath Olam, Eternal Love*.

"Thou hast loved us, O Lord our God, with *eternal*
 "Love, thou hast spared us with great and exceeding Pa-
 "tience, our Father [and] our King; for thy great Name's
 "sake, and for our Fathers sake who trusted in thee. To

^h This alludes to Ezekiel's Vision i. 19. and iii. 13. and x. 8—19. Jonathan the Son of Uziel in his Paraphrase of Ezekiel always translates the Wheels (Ophanim) by Galgalaija, i. e. Spheres; so that he and the Jews in his Time supposed the Heavens to be meant by these Wheels. Jonathan is allowed to have lived in Hillel's Time, whose Disciple he is said to be. The Paraphrase that goes under his Name of the Pentateuch, has a great many trifling Things in it, whereas this upon the Prophets is little more than a bare Paraphrase, and its Antiquity has not been much disputed. The curious Reader may consult Maimonides's More Nevochim upon this Translation of the Ophanim by Jonathan. Mor. Nevoch. Part. III. cap. iv.

" whom

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“whom thou taughtest the Statutes of Life, that they might
 “do after the Statutes of thy good Pleasure with a perfect
 “Heart. So be thou merciful to us, O our Father, mer-
 “ciful Father, that shewest Mercy. Have Mercy upon us
 “we beseech thee, and put Understanding into our Hearts,
 “that we may understand, be wise, hear, learn, teach,
 “keep, and do, and perform all the Words of the Doctrine
 “of thy Law in Love. And enlighten our Eyes in thy
 “Commandments, and cause our Heart to cleave to thy
 “Law, and unite them to the Love and Fear of thy Name.
 “We will not be ashamed, nor confounded, nor stumble,
 “for ever and ever: Because we have trusted in thy holy,
 “great, and mighty, and terrible Name, we will rejoice
 “and be glad in thy Salvation, and in thy Mercies, O Lord
 “our God: And the Multitude of thy Mercies shall not
 “forsake us for ever. *Selah.* And now make haste and
 “bring upon us a Blessing and Peace quickly, from the four
 “Corners of the Earth; break thou the Yoke of the *Gen-*
 “*tiles* ⁱ from off our Necks, and bring us upright into our
 “Land, for thou art a God that workest Salvation; and
 “us thou hast chosen out of every People and Language:
 “And thou, our King, hast caused us to cleave to thy
 “great Name in Love, to praise thee, and to be united to
 “thee, and to love thy Name. Blessed art thou, O Lord,
 “who hast chosen thy People *Israel* in Love.”

After this come the three Paragraphs of the *Shema*, and
 after them the *Emeth vejatfib*. *True and Certain.*

“True, and Certain, and Firm, and Stable, and Right, and
 “Faithful, and Beloved, and Dear, and Desirable, and Plea-
 “sant, and Glorious, and Reverend, and Regular, and
 “Accepted, and Good, and Beautiful is this Word concern-
 “ing Us for Ever and Ever. It is Truth that the Everlast-
 “ing God is our King, the Rock of *Jacob*, the Shield of our
 “Salvation from Generation to Generation: He abides,
 “and his Name abides, and his Throne is firm, and his

¹ The Jews in our Saviour's Time were under the Roman Yoke. They were dispersed
 over the whole Roman Empire, and a great way farther towards the East. Par-
 thians, and Medes, and Elamites, dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Cappadocia,
 Pontus and Asia, Phrygia, and Pamphylia, in Aegypt, in the Parts of Libya
 about Cyrene, Romans, Cretes and Arabians, i. e. Jews who inhabited in all
 those Countries, were all met together at the Great Pentecost, when the Holy Ghost
 fell on the Disciples in the second of the Acts. And there is not one single Syllable
 in all these Blessings which hints at the Destruction of the second Temple, or betrays a
 later Time than that in which our Saviour lived.

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“ Kingdom and his Truth endureth for ever. And his Words
 “ are Living and Stable, and Faithful, and Desirable for e-
 “ ver; and from Ages to Ages concerning our Fathers, con-
 “ cerning us, concerning our Children, and concerning our
 “ Generations, and concerning all the Generations of the
 “ Seed of *Israel* thy Servants: Concerning those that went
 “ before, and concerning those that shall come after. It is a
 “ good and sure word in Truth and Faithfulness, a Statute
 “ that shall not pass away. It is true that thou art the Lord
 “ our God, and the God of our Fathers; our King, and
 “ the King of our Fathers; our Redeemer, and the Redeem-
 “ er of our Fathers; our Rock, the Rock of our Salvati-
 “ on; our Saviour and Deliverer, thy Name is from Ever-
 “ lasting, and we have no other God besides thee, *Selah*.
 “ Thou art the Help of our Fathers from Everlasting, a
 “ Shield and a Saviour to them, and to their Sons after
 “ them throughout all Generations. Thy Habitation is in
 “ the Everlasting Height, and thy Judgments, and thy Right-
 “ eousness [extend] as far as the Ends of the Earth. It is
 “ true, that Blessed is the Man that shall hear thy Com-
 “ mandments and thy Laws, and shall put thy Words in-
 “ to his Heart. It is true that thou art the Lord of thy
 “ People, and a mighty King to plead their Causes for
 “ the Father, and for the Children. It is true, that thou
 “ art the first, and thou art the last^k, and that we have no
 “ King, Redeemer or Saviour besides thy self. It is true,
 “ that thou redeemedst us, O Lord our God, from *Aegypt*;
 “ thou deliveredst us from the House of Bondage, thou kil-
 “ ledst all their First born, and savedst *Israel*, thy First-born;
 “ thou didst cleave the *Red Sea* for them, and thou didst
 “ drown the Proud, and thy dear Ones passed over the
 “ Sea, and the Waters covered their Enemies, nor one of
 “ them escaped. For this the beloved, praised, and glori-
 “ fied God; and the dear Ones utter’d Psalms, Songs,
 “ Thanksgivings, Blessings and Confessions, to the King,
 “ the living and durable God; who is high and exalted,
 “ strong and terrible; who throweth the lofty ones to the
 “ Earth, and raiseth the lowly up on High; who bringeth
 “ out the Prisoners, redeemeth the Humble, helpeth the
 “ Lowly; who answered his People *Israel* when they cry’d

^k Out of *Isaiah* xli. 4. I the Lord the first, and with the last I am He.
 To which the Vision in the Revelations (Rev. i. 11.) alludes, I am Alpha and
 Omega, the first and the last.

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“ unto him. Praise be to the most High God their Redeemer: Blessed is He, and to be blessed. *Moses* and the Children of *Israel* sang a Song unto thee with great Joy, and they all said, Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the Gods? Who is like unto thee, Glorious in Holiness, Fearful in Praises, Doing Wonders. Those that were delivered sang a new Song unto thy great Name upon the Banks of the Sea together; they all glorify'd thee, extolled thy Power, and said, The Lord shall reign for ever and ever; and it is said, Our Deliverer, the Lord of Hosts is his Name, the holy One of *Israel*. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of *Israel*.”

These three *Blessings*, with the *Shema* itself, were what the *Jews* thought themselves obliged to repeat every Morning. The *Shema* by Virtue of a *Divine Command*; the *Blessings* by Virtue of the *Constitutions of the Elders*,

The *Evening Service* had two *Blessings* before the *Shema*, and two after it.

The first before the *Shema* was called *Maariv Aravim*, who bringeth on the *Evenings*.

“ Blessed art thou, O Lord. Our God is the King of the World, who with his Word bringeth on the *Evenings*; who openeth the Gates in Wisdom; who altereth the Times with Understanding, and changeth the Seasons, and putteth the Stars in Order in their Stations in the Firmament, according to his good Pleasure. Who created the Day and the Night, who rolleth the Light before the Darkness, and the Darkness before the Light; who maketh the Day to pass away, and bringeth on the Night; who divideth between the Day and the Night, the Lord of Hosts is his Name. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who bringest on the *Evenings*.”

The next *Blessing* before the *Shema* is called *Ababath Olam*, *Eternal Love*.

“ With *eternal Love* hast thou loved the House of *Israel*, thy People. Thou hast taught us the Law and the Commandments, the Statutes and Judgments; therefore, O Lord our God, when we lie down, and when we rise up, will we meditate in thy Statutes, and we will rejoice and be glad in the words of the Doctrine of thy Law, and of thy Commandments, and of thy Statutes for ever and ever. For they are our Life, and the Length of our Days, and in them will we meditate Day and Night; and thou wilt not take thy Love away from us

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“ for Ever. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who lovest thy People *Israel*.”

Then comes the *Shema*, and after that the *Blessing* called *Emeth Veemunah*, *Truth* and *Fidelity*, which is this.

“ Truth and Fidelity have established all this for us. For he is the Lord our God, and there is none besides him; and we are *Israel* his People, whom he hath redeemed from the Hand of Kings¹. Our King hath delivered us from the Hand of all violent Men: The God that hath avenged us of our Enemies: That hath returned according to their Doings upon all the Enemies of our Souls: That hath placed our Souls in Life, and hath not suffered our Feet to slide: That hath made us to walk upon the high Places of our Enemies, and hath exalted our Horn over all that hated us. The God that wrought Vengeance for us upon *Pharaoh*, with Signs and with Wonders in the Land of the Children of *Ham*; that smote all the first-born of *Aegypt* in his Wrath, and brought out his People *Israel* from among them to Everlasting Freedom. Who made his Sons to pass between the Divisions of the *Red Sea*, and drowned their Pursuers and their Enemies in the Deep. His Children saw his Might, they praised and glorified his Name, and they cheerfully took his Kingdom^m upon them. *Moses* and the Children of *Israel* sang a Song to thee, with great Rejoicing, and said all of them, Who is like unto thee among the Gods, O Lord; who is like unto thee; Glorious in Holiness, Fearful in Praises, Doing Wonders? Thy Children saw thy Kingdom, O Lord our God, upon the Sea together; they all gave Praise, acknowledged thee to be their King, and said, The Lord shall reign for ever and ever. And it is said, The Lord hath redeemed *Jacob*, and delivered him

¹ The Aegyptians, the Kings that oppressed them under the Judges, the Babylonians, and the Syro-Macedonians, from whom they were delivered by the Maccabees.

^m i. e. The Yoke of his Kingdom. Ellipses of this kind are very frequent in Hebrew. This may illustrate Dr. Hammond's Interpretation of that famous place 1 Cor. xv. 29. *Βαπτίζω ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν*. Baptized for the Dead. He supposes *ὑπὲρ*, which we render for, to answer to the Hebrew *by*. And therefore as the Jews say *al avoda zara*, by which they mean the Precept given to the Sons of Noah against Idolatry; so here it would be in Hebrew *al hammerhin*, for the Dead, with *al* *avoda*, understood. That is, who are baptized upon or in the belief of the Resurrection of the Dead. This is the easiest Interpretation of that Text, and I believe the only true one.

“ from

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“from the Hand of him that is stronger than he; Blessed art thou, O Lord, that hast redeemed *Israel*.”

The last *Blessing* is called *Hachivenu*, *Make us lie down*, which is in *English* thus.

“Our Father *make us lie down* in Peace, and our King raise us to Life and Peace, and spread the covering of thy Peace upon us, and direct us with good Counsel from before thy Face; and save us quickly for thy Name’s sake, and be thou our Protector, and remove from us the Stroke of the Enemy; Pestilence, Sword, Tribulation, Mischief, Famine, Sorrow, Destruction, and the Plague. Break and remove the Adversary from before and from behind us; and hide us under the shadow of thy Wings, and watch over our going out, and our coming in to Life and Peace from this Time forth for evermore. For thou art the God that keepest and deliverest us from every evil Word, and from the Terrors of the Night. Blessed art thou, O Lord, that keepest thy People *Israel* for evermore. *Amen*.”

This is the compleat Office of the *Recital of the Shema*, with its annexed *Blessings* Night and Morning. There is nothing in these *Blessings* that betrays a later Composition than the Time when the *Misna* was written. Probably then, these were the very Prayers which were used with the *Shema* in our Saviour’s Time. Now how great is the Difference between *these* and the *Lord’s Prayer*! What *vain Repetitions* are many times here! What little variation of Sense, and yet how great a Multitude and Variety of Words! How plain, and yet how solemn; how pathetic, and yet how comprehensive is the Form which our Lord prescribes after this Admonition *Matt. vi. 7*! In these Prayers of the *Jews* there are very few Necessities of Life pointed at. No Resignation to the Will of God; no Confession of our Frailness appears throughout the whole, but chiefly a magnificent Ostentation of God’s great and miraculous Mercies produced in such a manner as if they thought themselves worthy of all those Things that had been wrought for their Forefathers. I have not time to Paraphrase upon the whole, nor to compare our Lord’s and the *Jewish* Forms together, and I choose to leave it with the sagacious Reader who can do it without my Assistance. It is enough for my Purpose, that the *Prayers* or *Blessings* (as these Doctors call them, as being the loftier Word of the two) that I have

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have here faithfully rendred into *English*ⁿ, are prescribed as parts of the *Recital of the Shema* in the *Misna*, consequently they were used in our Saviour's time. And from this Comparison, as well as from very many other Things in our Saviour's Sermon upon the Mount, we may see what Reason his Hearers had to be *astonished at his Doctrine*, when he had finished his Sermon, because *he taught them as one having Authority, and not as the Scribes* ^o.

The Directions at the end of this *Misna* relate to the two *Blessings* which are to be used at Night after the *Shema*; and all that is meant by them is, That the *Emeth veemunah* must be said before the *Hafscivenu*; and that when there is at any time a *Repetition* of the *short Blessing* required at the end of any larger Form, in these words, *Blessed art thou, O Lord, &c.* that *Repetition*, which is there called the *Clause*, must be used, otherwise not.

I should now go on to produce and explain the other *Cannons* in the Title *Beracoth*, which relate to the *Shema*, but that I foresee I must remove an Objection which may be made to what I have said from *Matt. vi. 7, 8*. For whereas I have charged the *Jews* (especially the *Pharisees*) who lived in *Jesus Christ's* time, with *vain Repetitions* in their Prayers; our Lord himself do's not seem to charge them with it, according to the present Reading. *When ye pray* (says he) *use not vain Repetitions as the HEATHEN do, for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking. As the Heathen do.* ^{ωσπερ οἱ ἑθνη οἱ.} Consequently then the Heathen Custom only is reprehended in this Place; but what have the Heathen to do here? The *Pharisees* and their *Hypocrisy* are concerned solely in this whole Chapter, at least in the first 18 Verses; and they are called *Hypocrites* in three places besides this P. A Heathen's Prayers are solely directed to a false God; so that the Petitions which he offers, and every thing that belongs to them are an Abomination. It was not the Repetition of the thing in that Case, but the thing it self which our Lord detested; whereas here it was the *Jewish* way of Praying only which our Lord blamed, and when he had blamed it he shew'd how it ought to be corrected. One cannot there-

ⁿ The Edition of the Jewish Liturgy out of which I have translated these Prayers, is a *Seder Tephilloth*, printed at Amsterdam by Manasseh ben Israel, in 16^o, in 1636, which I also collated with another printed at Venice in 1544.

^o *Matt. vii. 28, 29.*

^r *Matt. vi. 2, 5, 16.*

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fore well imagine that he wou'd honour any Heathen Prayers to *Jupiter*, suppose, or *Bacchus*, so much as with a mention, especially not here, when it was foreign to his Argument. I cannot therefore for this Reason think that to be the true Reading of the Words of the Evangelist. In Dr. MilPs Edition of the New Testament one MS. has it *ὑποκριταί*, as the *Hypocrites*, and not as the *Gentiles* do. And the *Syriac* Version seems to read it so, which is supposed to be the oldest Translation of the New Testament now extant. Some Ages after, when the Christians were better acquainted with the Heathens than the *Jews* (with whom they had very little Correspondence after the Destruction of the second Temple) and found that the Heathens used long and senseless repetitions in their Addresses to their false Gods this Alteration crept in. The *Greek* word *Βαττολογία* is supposed to have come from one *Battus* who used to compose long-winded Hymns full of Tautologies. I should rather derive it as *F. Lamy* do's from *βωβ*, *bata*, to prattle; which being a Word commonly used by the *Jews*, was probably turned into *Greek* by the *Hellenists*: But what entirely determines me that it was *ὑποκριταί*, *Hypocrites*, not *ἔθνη*, *Heathens*, in the original Text, is what we find in the close of this Verse, *For they think they shall be heard for their much speaking*. By the vulgar Reading one might be tempted to think, that if they had not used this *Battologia*, but have pray'd with Discretion, *Jupiter* or *Hercules*, *Venus* or *Bacchus*, Deities to whom the *Gentiles* pray'd, might, according to our Saviour's Assertion, have heard them. For immediately after this Rebuke, comes the Form which he himself prescribed, *After this manner therefore pray*

^a I say seems to read it so; because whereas in the other passages in this Chapter, where it is *Hypocrites* in the common Reading, it is *Nosbe baphe* (Accepters of Faces) in the *Syriac* here it is *Chanphe*, which in Dr. Castell's Lexicon is rendered *Gentiles*. But *Chanphe* signifies to be a *Hypocrite* in *Hebrew* and *Chaldee*; Job xxxiv. 30. That the *Hypocrite* reign not, is in the *Hebrew* *M'mloc adam chaneph*, and in the *LXX.* *ἡ δόξα τῶν ὑποκριτῶν*. And again Job xxxvi. 13. But the *Hypocrites* in Heart heap up Wrath; it is in *Hebrew* *vechanphe lebh jashimu aph*, in the *LXX.* *ἡ ὑποκριταὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ἑσθ' ἐν θυμῷ*. *Chanphe* here is the very Word that is in the *Syriac*; and it is unquestionable that *Chanphe* is to be a *Hypocrite*, to flatter, to dissemble, in the *Chaldee*, of which the *Syriac* is (as every one knows) only a *Dialect*: So that the Use of the word *Chanphe*, in the Sense of *Apostatavit*, as Dr. Castell renders it, is certainly *Metaphorical*, and does not signify one originally a *Gentile*, but a *Temporizer*, a *Flatterer*, one that for Interest will go over to any Religion, and leave his own. But this is widely different from what our Translators mean by *Heathen*, as the *English* of the *Greek* word *ἔθνη*.

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ye. But I am sensible I have the Torrent of Interpreters against me, it becomes me not therefore to be too positive, and so I shall leave it with the candid Reader.

§. 5. "The coming out of Egypt [is remembred] at Night. *R. Eliezer*, the Son of *Azariah*, said, "I am now Seventy Years of Age, and I could never understand why it is said, The coming out of Egypt [is remembred] at Night, till *Ben Zoma* collected it from this Text (*Deut* xvi. 3.) *That thou mayst remember the Day when thou camest forth out of the Land of Egypt all the Days of thy Life. Days of thy Life* [denotes] *Days*. *All the Days of thy Life* [includes] *Nights*. The wise Men say, *The Days of thy Life* signify this World, *all the Days of thy Life* include the Days of the *Messiah*.

Let the Reasoning from this Text in *Deuteronomy* be what it will, I am not bound to justify it. What I wou'd conclude from thence is plain, that *R. Eliezer*, *Ben Zoma*, and these wise Men thought that the Paragraph of the *Shema*, which is taken out of *Numb.* xv. and is the third in the *Misnic* Order of the *Shema*, was commanded by *Moses* to be repeated Morning and Evening, as well as the other two. The Truth is, all that *Moses* seems to command there is, that they should wear Fringes upon their Garments, not that that Command should be repeated every Day, as the *Shema* itself in *Deut.* vi. certainly was.

² But here I cannot forbear doing Justice to *E. Lamy*, whom I can never sufficiently commend, tho' I can't say that I always acquiesce in his Interpretations. He seems to think that the Jews are more struck at by our Lord than the Gentiles in this Place. His words are these: "Cum alibi Discipulos suos admoneat Dominus ut semper orarent & sine Intermissione, cenfeo non tam orationis multiloquium, sive prolixitatem eum improbare, quam modum orandi fundendo preces inanes, quibus inania orarentur, opes, Regna, aliaq; id genus; aut cum labia & lingua sine mente orant: Hoc vitium exprobrat Dominus Judaeis. Populus ille Labiis me honorat: quod Vitium indicat vox Βαττοκορεν quae ab aliâ origine melius deduci non potest, quam ab Hebraeo verbo נִשְׁבַּח, Bata, i. e. pronuntiavit, effutivit. Has Orationes ore tenus factas fuisse à plerisq; Judaeis, quamquam vitium illud conferrat in Ethnicos, Dominus, verisimile est. (*Lamy in Matt.* vi. 7.) And again, "Nolite ergo, inquit Dominus, assimilari eis, sive Ethnicis, sive his Judaeis, qui propter multiloquium suum putant se exaudiri; scit enim Pater vester, quid opus sit Vobis, antequam petatis eum." (*Id. ibid.* in x. 8.) It is plain by this, that this excellent Interpreter saw the Jews to be more particularly struck at, which is the true Reason why I think the vulgar Reading to be faulty.

Cap. II.

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Cap. II. §. 1. " If a Man is reading in the Law,
" and the Time of reading the [*Shema*] draws on,
" if he attends to what he reads, he is excused [from
" reading the *Shema*] otherwise he is not excused.
" Between the Paragraphs a Man may salute [ano-
" ther whom he meets accidentally] out of Respect,
" and return [a Salutation.] In the middle of a Pa-
" ragraph a Man may salute [out of Fear] and return
" the Salutation, as *R. Meir* says. *R. Juda* says he
" may salute out of Fear in the middle [of a Para-
" graph] and return the Salutation out of Respect.
" Between the Paragraphs a Man may salute out of
" Respect, and return the Salutation of any Body."

§. 2. " The Pauses between the Paragraphs are
" these. Between the *first Blessing* and the *second*. Be-
" tween the *second* and *Hear O Israel*. (*Deut. vi. 4.*)
" Between *Hear O Israel*, and *And it shall come to*
" *pass if you shall hearken*; (*Deut. xi. 13.*) Between
" *It shall come to pass*, and *The Lord spake unto Mo-*
" *ses*. (*Numb. xv. 37.*) Between the *Lord spake*, and
" *True and Certain*. *R. Juda* says there ought to be
" no Pause between the *Lord spake* and *True and Cer-*
" *tain*. *R. Joshua* the Son of *Korcha* said, *That hear*
" *O Israel*, comes before, *It shall come to pass if you*
" *shall hearken*, because Men ought to take upon
" them the *Yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven* first, and
" then the *Yoke of the Commandments* afterwards. *And*
" *it shall come to pass* comes before *And the Lord spake*
" *unto Moses*, because *It shall come to pass* obliges by
" Day and by Night, whereas *The Lord spake* obliges
" only by Day.

Whoever reads the three Paragraphs of the *Shema* atten-
tively, will understand what *R. Joshua* says perfectly. One
would almost think that this *R. Joshua*, the Son of *Korcha*,
was that Scribe who asked our Lord (*Mark xii. 28.*) which
was the first Commandment, by what he says here. There
is something in his Reason why the *Hear O Israel*, is read
first,

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first, which seems to shew that he was *not far from the Kingdom of God*. The *Yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven* here is a fine Illustration of what our Lord says *Matt. xi. 29, 30: Take my Yoke upon you, and learn of me—For my Yoke is easy, and my Burthen is Light*. For here our Lord alludes to a common and known Phrase among the *Jews*, when he commands his Disciples to *take his Yoke* upon them, *i. e.* to do as he commanded them. For the *Masters* by the Yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven, meant the Observation of the whole Law, both *Written* and *Oral*, in comparison of which the *Yoke of Jesus Christ* was truly *easy*, and his *Burthen* *Light*.

§. 3. “ If a Man repeats the *Shema* so low that he cannot hear himself speak, he is excused by all but *R. Jose*. He that repeats without attending nicely to the Letters, is excused by *R. Jose*, but not by *R. Juda*. He that repeats preposterously is not excused: He that mistakes in his Repetition, must go back to the Place where he made that mistake [and then go on again.]”

§. 4. “ Labourers may repeat [the *Shema*] upon the top of a Tree, or the top of a Wall, which they must not do when they pray.”

Here the *opus operatum* is required. The *Shema* must be repeated twice a Day; no set time is appointed in the Law for Prayers.

§. 5. “ A Bridegroom is excused from repeating the *Shema* for the first Night, and so on till the going out of the Sabbath, unless he has consummated before. *Rabban Gamaliel* indeed repeated [the *Shema*] the first Night that he was marry'd. His Disciples said, Master, didst thou not teach us that a Bridegroom is excused from repeating the first Night. He answered, I do not hearken to you, because I will not cast off the Yoke of the Kingdom of Heaven for one Hour.”

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The Doctors restrain this to the fourth Night of the Week, and so on to the end of the Sabbath; so that according to them the excuse from repeating the *Shema* holds but four Nights.

§. 6. “ [R. Gamaliel] bathed that Night his Wife dy’d: His Disciples said unto him, Didst not thou teach us, Master, that a Mourner is bound from washing? He answered them, I am not like the rest of Mankind, I am infirm.”

To bath in warm Water was esteemed a Piece of Luxury, and to that we are told this refers. This and the next *Misna* are Digressions which I wou’d not omit, because they are related here by R. *Juda the Holy*, peculiarly for the Honour of this Man who was no other than the famous *Gamaliel*, who was St. *Paul*’s Master, who is mention’d twice, and both times for his Honour, by St. *Luke* in the *Acts*. (*Acts* v. 34. and xxii. 3.)

§. 7. “ When his Servant *Tabi* dy’d he admitted of Consolation. His Disciples said, Master, didst not thou teach us, that [Men] should not admit of Consolation for Servants. He answered, My Servant *Tabi* was not like other Servants, he was an honest Man.

The Men of Figure, especially such a Man as *Gamaliel*, who was *President of the Great Sanhedrin*, looked upon it as a Diminution of their Quality, to seem to regard the Death of a Servant, at least to mourn publicly for one. ’Tis to such mourning as that, that this Consolation refers. This Story is told therefore for *Gamaliel*’s Honour, and truly not without Reason, to shew his very great Humility. *Tabi* is the Male Name, and *Tabitha*, which occurs in the *Acts*, is the Female.

§. 8. “ If a Bridegroom has a mind to repeat the *Shema* the first Night, he may. *Rabban Simcon*, the Son of *Gamaliel*, says, not every Man that has a mind to raise himself a Name, shall raise it.”

Whoever

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Whoever considers the Manners of the *Pharisees* of that Age, will think that *Rabban Simeon*, in this Decision, shew'd himself the wise Son of a great Father. Superstition naturally leads Men to do above what is commanded. *Simeon* here therefore justly reproveth that Spirit. He thought it was enough to obey the Law, and to testify a Reverence to the established Decisions of the Elders, to which he undoubtedly paid a Regard, and that there was no need of going any farther.

Cap. III. §. 1. "He whose dead is carry'd out before him, is not bound to recite the *Shema*, nor to pray, nor to wear *Phylacteries*. The Bearers, their Substitutes, and the Substitutes of their Substitutes, either before the Bier or behind it, or at the side of it, whose [Assistance] is necessary, are excused; those whose Assistance is not necessary, are bound to all but Prayer."

This *Misna* remarkably shews their Opinion of the Obligation they lay under, by virtue of a divine Command, to recite the *Shema*, and to wear their *Phylacteries*. Their *Forms of Prayer* were instituted by their wise Men, and so were of inferior Obligation. Now as to Matters of Divine Command, it was a settled Rule among them, that where one Command was necessary to be done at any particular Time, it freed them from attending to any other Command at that Time. This Rule was certainly reasonable in itself, tho' sometimes they extended it to very odd purposes.

§. 2. "When Men have bury'd their Dead, and are returning [home] if they can begin and finish before they reach the Circle, let them begin; if not, let them not begin: Those that stand in the Circle [among those that comfort the Mourners] if they are within it [so as to see the Mourners] they are excused, if they stand without, they are obliged."

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Begin and finish] any one Paragraph in the *Shema*. The first, for Instance, which is both the shortest, and the most considerable.

Reach the Circle.] When the Guests returned from the Funeral, the Custom was for them to stay in some particular Place, which they called the *Station*, and there to comfort the Mourners. Those that were in sight of the Mourners were bound to comfort them, and so were excused from repeating the *Shema*. Those that were out of sight were bound to repeat it, because the first Work was over, which was to attend the Dead to his Grave, and they were not near enough to give any Comfort to the Mourners. Upon the Principles laid down already, this is no unreasonable Constitution. *Comforting of Mourners was esteemed by them, as it really was, a divine Command.*

§. 3. “*Women, and Servants, and little Children*
“ are excused from repeating the *Shema*, and from
“ wearing *Phylacteries*; but they are obliged to attend
“ Prayer, [to fasten] the *Mezuzah*, and [to repeat]
“ the Blessing [at Meals.]

Divine Commands which require a particular and determinate Time to do them in, are according to these Doctors not obligatory upon Women, and Servants; because it may so happen that their Husbands and Masters whom they are bound to obey, may at those Times set them upon something else. The *Shema* was to be repeated when they lay down, and when they rose up. The *Phylacteries* were to be put on every Morning (except the Sabbath) and to be pulled off at Night: For Prayers there was no determinate Time fixed. The *Mezuzah* was to be put upon the Door-Posts, some time after they were set up, but without any time fixed; and when it was once placed there, it was not afterwards to be taken down. *Meal-times* were not fixed to an Hour, and therefore the Blessings then used, obliged every Body that could be present at such times, and could understand what those Blessings meant. *Little Children* in this *Misna* are Children that are under twelve Years of Age, till that time these Doctors did not suppose that Children were obliged to take upon them the Yoke of the Commandments. It is worth observing, that that was the Age in which our Lord disputed with the Doctors in the Temple. (*Luke* ii. 42, 46, 47.) Before that Age he was not what they

O

they called a *Son of the Commandment*. And according to the Ideas of that Time, we may reasonably believe that these Doctors would otherwise not have disputed with him: And their Astonishment when they heard him, and when he asked them Questions wou'd naturally be very great, to see a Child who by his Age was supposed to be just entred upon the Study of the Law, discover by his Understanding and his Answers so profound a Knowledge in Matters which required the greatest Skill, and the deepest Learning. For tho' we know not precisely what the Subject was about which they disputed, yet from the Answer that he made to his Mother (*Luke ii. 49.*) when he said, *Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's Business?* It is plain that they disputed concerning the Kingdom of the *Messiah*, and his coming into the World. This was the true Reason why St. *Luke* set his Age down on this Occasion; and what I have said demonstrates, that that was no trifling Circumstance.

THese are the *Constitutions* in the *Misna* relating to the *Reading* of the *Shema*, and they do demonstrably prove that the Masters of Tradition at least, if not the *Karaites*, in that Age did certainly believe that this *Reading* or *Recital* of the *Shema* twice a Day was required in the written Law of *Moses*; which was what I produced them for. I am now to consider the *Phylacteries* and *Schedules of Door-Posts*, which are founded upon the same Authorities; and the Use of *Phylacteries* hath other Authorities, peculiar to itself besides, which have no Relation to the *Shema*.

When God brought *Israel* out of *Aegypt*, he commanded him to eat unleavened Bread for seven Days, and likewise required him, "To shew it his Son in
" that Day, saying, This is done because of that
" which the Lord did unto me, when I came forth
" our of *Aegypt*. And it shall be for a Sign unto
" thee upon thine Hand, and for a Memorial between
" thine Eyes, that the Lord's Law may be in thy
" Mouth." (*Exod. xiii. 8, 9.*) And a few Verses after he commanded them to consecrate their First-born, because he had killed the First-born of the *Aegyptians*; and then adds farther, " And it shall be
" when

“ when thy Son asketh thee in time to come, saying,
 “ What is this? That thou shalt say unto him, By
 “ strength of Hand the Lord brought us out from
 “ *Aegypt*, from the House of Bondage. And it came
 “ to pass when *Pharaoh* wou’d hardly let us go, that
 “ the Lord slew all the First-born in the Land of
 “ *Aegypt*, both the First-born of Man, and the First-
 “ born of Beasts: therefore I sacrifice to the Lord
 “ all that openeth the Matrix, being Males, but
 “ all the First-born of my Children I redeem. And
 “ it shall be for a Token upon thine Hand, and for
 “ Frontlets between thine Eyes; for by strength of
 “ Hand the Lord brought us forth out of *Aegypt*.”

(*ibid.* v. 14, 15, 16.) It is plain that by the Letter of these Precepts, *Signs* and *Tokens* upon the Hands, and *Memorials* or *Frontlets* (*Totaphoth*) are required between the Eyes. But then another Question arises, Whether these *Memorials*, *Signs*, and *Tokens* signify here any more than general Directions that these Deliverances shou’d be remembred, and not particular Orders that *Tokens* or *Frontlets* shou’d be fastned to the Hand, or between the Eyes.

Most Christian Interpreters say all that is here commanded, and in *Deut.* vi. 8. is to be understood figuratively; nay many of them go farther, and look upon the Use of those Parchments in which the four following Paragraphs of the Law are written, *Exod.* xiii. 1—10. *Exod.* xiii. 11—16. *Deut.* vi. 4—9. *Deut.* xi. 13—21: which are properly the *Phylacteries*, to have been a superstitious Innovation of the later *Jews*, and never designed to be literally understood in the Law of *Moses*. And even of those who seem to speak most favourably of them, there are very few that dare assert the Use of them by Virtue of a divine Command. *F. Lamy* says, that from the Words in *Deut.* vi. 8. *Thou shalt bind them for a Sign upon thine Hand, and they shall be as Frontlets between thine Eyes.* The *Jews* supposed that such particular Paragraphs of holy Scripture

written upon Parchments should be ty'd to the Forehead and the Hand with Thongs of Leather. But whether they *supposed* wrong or right he saith not ^f. Though in the Case of the *Fringes* in *Numb. xv. 38.* he allows as all other Interpreters do, that the Precept is to be literally understood ^t. Bishop *Patrick* calls Phylacteries a *Jewish* Superstition, and takes a great deal of Pains in several Places to prove it so; and which makes it more strange, he is forced to own that the *Mezuzoth* looks very like a Command: His Authority is deservedly great, and so I shall set down what he says at length ^u in the Margin. One Thing I can-

^f Deus in Deut. vi. 6. sic locutus fuerat, *Eruntq; verba haec quae ego praecipio tibi hodie, in Corda tua, & narrabis ea Filiis tuis, & meditaberis in eis sedens in Domo tuâ, & ambulans in itinere, dormiens atq; consurgens: Et ligabis ea quasi Signum in Manu tuâ, eruntq; & movebuntur inter Oculos tuos. Sive, ut Frons reddi potest, & erunt in Frontalia inter Oculos tuos.* Ergo Judaei opinabantur verba Scripturae in Membranis descripta alliganda esse Fronti ac Manui loris coriaceis, maxime dum orant: inde haec vocant *Tephillin*, id est *preces*. Judaei verò Graecè loquentes appellavere *Φυλακτήρια*, *Phylacteria*; ab usu, quia de observandis praeceptis Dei admonebant, ut ex Moysis loco liquet. *Lamy Comment. in Harmon. p. 474.*

^t Praeceperat etiam Deus Num. xv. 38. *Israëlitis, ut per quatuor Angulos Palliorum ponerent Fimbrias quas illi appellant Zizith. Id. ibid. p. 475.*

^u Upon these Words, a Sign unto thee upon thy Hand, and for a Memorial between thine Eyes, *Exod. xiii. 9.* he has these Words, "To make thee as sensible of God's Goodness, as of that which thou hast in thy Hand, or of a Thing that is continually before thine Eyes. The Jewish Superstition about their Phylacteries took its rise from hence, but without any good Ground. It being evident he speaks not of tying Parchments or any Thing else about their Wrists, &c. but of teaching their Children the meaning of their holy Rites. And so some of themselves have expounded it, particularly R. Levi of Barcelona, who gives this Reason why such abundant care was taken to have these Things remember'd. Because, saith he, this is the Foundation of our Law, and of our Religion: For which Cause in all our Blessings and Prayers we commemorate our coming out of Egypt: Because it is a Sign to us, and a per-

fect

and Schedules of Door-Posts. 197

I cannot but observe, that "he thinks there was no Command for *Phylacteries*, because it is not said either in *Deut.* or in *Exodus*, *thou shalt make thee Frontlets*; but only that the Things which the Lord mentions shall be as *Frontlets between their Eyes*". The Verse is this, *Thou shalt bind them for a Sign upon thine Hand, and THEY SHALL BE (Vebaju) as Frontlets between thine Eyes. (Deut. vi. 8.)* Is not, *Thou shalt bind them*, a plain Command for the *Phylacteries* upon the Hand? And is not what follows connected to it? And does not the Command, *Thou shalt write them upon the Posts of thy Gates* come immediately after? I am surprized to see so very great a Man write after this manner. Dri

"fect Demonstration of the Creation of the World; and that our Lord God is the Author of all Creatures, and doth what he pleases." Patrick in *Exod. xiii. 9.* pagg. 229, 230. I wou'd here observe that R. Levi do's not say what this most learned Person quotes him for; the Question is, Whether *Phylacteries* are commanded in this Place? He do's not say they are not, which was what he shou'd have said, according to what is before laid down by Bishop Patrick.

And again upon *Exod. xiii. 16.* he says, "By this means there was a perpetual Remembrance preserved of God's gracious Deliverance of them, when the First-born of Aegypt were slain. For NOTHING ELSE CAN be meant by these words, but that they shou'd endeavour, by consecrating their First-born, to keep that divine Benefit in mind as carefully as if they had put a Sign upon their Hand, or bound it upon their Forehead before their Eyes, to help their Memory. For it is a plain ALLUSION to those, who having frail Memories, are wont to tie a Thread, or some such Thing upon their Finger, that they may not forget what they desire to remember." Id. *ibid.* pagg. 234, 235. Are not the Fringes as plain Allusions as these *Phylacteries*? And yet it is not deny'd but they are commanded. Was not the whole Jewish Oeconomy an Oeconomy of Sense, and was not that Nation always conducted, as it were, with Leading Strings? It is remarkable that the Law of Fringes, and the Laws of Heterogeneous Mixtures are join'd in Deuteronomy. *Deut. xxii. 9, 10, 11, 12.*

But the Precept in *Exodus* is not so plain, as that in *Deuteronomy vi. 8.* *Thou shalt bind them for a Sign upon thine Hand, and they shall be as Frontlets between thine Eyes.* There Bishop Patrick has this Note. "Just thus he commands them to pre-

Dr. Hammond, who allows the *Zizith* (which are called *Fringes*, Numb. xv. 38, 39. but only *Borders* in Matt. xxiii. v.) to be a divine Command, argues from the Command of the *Zizith*, to the No-command of the Phylacteries. "The *negawida* are the Fringes that God COMMANDS the People to use, Numb. xv. 38. and wear on the Borders of their Garment, with a blew Ribband on the Fringe. And the Use of it there assigned, was I. That they may look upon it, and remember all the Commandments of God, and do them. II. That they seek not after their own Hearts and their own Eyes, after which they use to go a whoring; i. e. that they take not up the Customs and Fashions of other Nations, which

serve the Memory of their Deliverance out of the Land of Aegypt, almost in the same words; see Exod. xlii. 9, 16. where this is sufficiently explained. And it appears to be a proverbial Speech from Isaiah xlix. 16. There are some learned Men indeed who take these words literally (notwithstanding St. Hierom hath delivered his Opinion to the contrary, that there is no Command for Phylacteries which are grounded upon these words,) particularly Jos. Scaliger in his Elench. Trihaeresi. Nic. Serarii capp. 7, 8. Where he thinks God gave this Command to the Israelites to prevent their following the Rites of other Nations; who armed themselves against Dangers with superstitious Amulets in their Foreheads, which the Aegyptians, he thinks, called Totaphoth. But since neither here nor in Exodus there are any such words, as thou shalt make thee Frontlets; but Moses only saith the Things he is speaking of, shall be for Frontlets between their Eyes, I take it NOT to be meant literally, tho' it is likely they intended well, who so understood it: For our Blessed Saviour doth not seem to reprove the Jews for wearing Phylacteries, but for their Ostentation in wearing them broader than ordinary." Id. in Deut. vi. 8. p. 104. And yet upon the next Verse he says, "This looks more like a literal Command than the former; and it might have been very useful to them, when they went in and out of their Houses, to read these words, Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord— Tho' after all, it may be, this was not intended, but only that they should never let this Principle slip out of their Mind, but think of it when they went out and came in, as well as when they were in their Houses, and by the way; when they rose up, and when they lay down." Id. ibid. pag. 105.

they

“ they were very apt and prone to do ever since they
 “ came out of *Aegypt*, and therefore are by this fore-
 “ warned that they keep themselves a peculiar Peo-
 “ ple to God in OUTWARD FASHIONS, and conse-
 “ quently in inward Purity of Heart, (in order to
 “ which the other was designed) discriminated from
 “ all the Nations of the Earth.” All this is very
 right and just, and it is an excellent Account of the
 Reason of the Institution of the *Zizith*. Observe
 now what immediately follows. “ By this it appears
 “ how this Custom of the *Fringes* differs from the
 “ other of the *Phylacteries*. That was WHOLLY a
 “ Tradition and INVENTION of the *Jews*, on a mi-
 “ stake of God’s Command, and then an enlarging
 “ of this to *Vanity* and *Offentation*. But this hath a
 “ TRUTH in God’s Precept, was really commanded by
 “ him in Order to a pious End; which End being
 “ forgotten, they wholly contented and satisfied
 “ themselves in the outward Observation thereof.
 “ And the Pharisees made that as pompous as they
 “ cou’d, labouring to exceed all other Men in the
 “ Bigness of their *Fringes* or *Zizith*, and placing
 “ Piety in that, as being most discriminated thereby
 “ from the Nations (in order to which this Fashion
 “ was prescribed by God) and in some measure from
 “ other *Jews*, which wore them not so big, and so
 “ are peculiarly in this as in many other Things,
 “ ἀφωροῦνται, according to the meaning of their
 “ Name in *Hebrew*, vain-glorious Separatists, and are
 “ thus looked upon by our Saviour in this Place”.
 (Hammond on Matt. xxiii. 5. Note c.) And in his Pa-
 raphrase upon Matt. xxiii. 5. He interprets the bind-
 ing upon their Hand in Deut. vi. 8. by laying near their
 Hearts, and practising diligently*. Now is not the

* The Law which they were commanded (Deut. vi. 8.) to bind
 upon their Hands, &c. that is, to lay it near their Hearts, and
 practise

second part of Dr. Hammond's Note a Contradiction to the first? The Zizith is commanded: Why? Because God bids the *Israelites* in *Numb. xv. 38.* and *Deut. xxii. 12.* to make them Fringes. Do's he not here command them to bind them, (i. e. the Words which he commanded them that Day) for a Sign upon their Hands, and to write them upon the Posts of their Houses, and on their Gates. (*Deut. vi. 6, 8, 9.*) To bind Phylacteries, and to write Mezuzoth, are as much Commands, as the making of Fringes; and so we see the Jews understand them.

The Ground that these, and a great Number of other Interpreters go upon in interpreting these Precepts figuratively, is (I believe) hinted at by Dr. *Whitby*: Who says, "the words in *Deut. vi. 8, 9.* are to be expounded by the foregoing words *v. 6.* The Word which I command thee this Day shall be in thy Heart. And *Deut. xi. 18.* Ye shall put my Words in your Heart, and in your Soul. For, since these Words *Deut. vi.* refer to the whole Law of Moses, it seems not reasonable to think that God requir'd them to write all the Precepts of it upon their Phylacteries, or the Posts of their Doors." Now these Words do not refer to the whole Law of Moses, but to the Command, Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God, &c. That is the first and great Commandment. Those were the Words which the Lord commanded them that Day. To that Command in that Place are the subsequent Words in *v. 7, 8, 9.* to be restrain'd. And then there will be no Difficulty in the daily Repetition of that

practise it diligently, they write in Rolls, and hang them in their Foreheads, and bind them on their Wrists, &c. count them as a kind of Charms, and make them as large as they can, to be seen of Men, and one to exceed the other. Hammond's Paraphrase on *Matt. xxiii. 5.* Mr. Le Clerc is very copious to the same purpose; but since he produces nothing but what is in these Interpreters of our own, whom I have transcribed already, I avoid quoting what he says at length. Clericus in *Exod. xiii. 9.*

* *Whitby upon Matt. xxiii. 5.* Command,

Command, nor in writing it on Parchments, and fast-
ning it to the Hand, or the Forehead, or the Posts
of a Door, or of a House.

Joseph Scaliger plainly saw that the Command was
to be interpreted literally, but was mistaken in think-
ing that the ten Commandments were written upon
the Parchments, which they were not, at least not in
the Time when the *Misna* was written. His Autho-
rity is every way considerable, and therefore since it is
my Misfortune to dissent from so many eminent Men,
I shall produce what he says,

Besides

“ Ne Gentium Phylacteriis Populus Dei utoreretur, quod as-
sueverant facere, dum Inquilini in Aegypto servirent, & Ae-
gyptiorum superstitionis Amuletis Frontes muniebant, Moses
præcepit ut Decalogum in Membranulis, quas *καυαλίδες* vo-
cabant, inscriptum in Frontibus gestarent. Haec sanè *Tosaf-*
photh vocantur, Aegyptiaco Vocabulo.” *Jas. Scalig. Elench.*
Trihaeres. Nic. Serarii. cap. 7. p. 256. St. Hierom led Scaliger in-
to the mistake that the Decalogus was written upon the Phylacte-
ries; and he likewise thought that these Phylacteries were not com-
manded, but therein Scaliger left him. “ Omnino illi [i. e.
“ Hieronymo] Verba Legis adversantur, & vetustissimus Mos
“ Judaeorum; melius Theophylactus, τὸ ἔχει ἐπὶ τῷ χειρὶ τῷ
“ φυλακίζεον, ἰσχυμαίνε τὸ δὲ ἐν ἰσχυμαίνε τὸς ἐκείνους. Non enim
“ negat Legem hæc præcepisse, sed eo innui legis præcepta
“ non tantum in Pittacis gestanda, sed etiam re exequenda:
“ Justinus quoq; in Tryphone, ἐν τῷ κόκκινον βύσμα φελλισίαι
“ αὐτοῖς ἐν ἰσχυμαίνε ὑμῶν, ἵνα ἀπὸ τῆς μὲν λήθης ὑμᾶς λαμβάνη
“ Θεῷ, καὶ φυλακίζεον ἐν ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς λήθης γινώσκοντες χαλεπὴ
“ ρωτῶν ἀπάντως ἅγια νοῦν εἶναι ἐκείνους ὑμᾶς ἐκείνους, καὶ
“ ἀπὸ τῆς δύσων ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ μνήμης ἔχει Θεῷ. Neq; minus
“ Dominus noster Jesus Christus Phylacteria & Fimbrias gesta-
“ vit, quàm Pharisei. Omnes omnino hoc facere teneban-
“ tur disertis Verbis Legis. Aliter tanquam legirupae lapidibus
“ obruti necarentur. Et miror tanto Viro Hieronymo, tam a-
“ lienam à mente Mosis, à veteri Judaeorum & Samaritarum
“ consuetudine, sententiam excidisse. Nam Christus non qui-
“ dem Phylacteria dāmnat, quum Lex illa præcepisset, & ip-
“ semet, ut alii omnes Judæi, ea gestaret, sed ambitionem
“ Phariseorum exagitat, qui, ut supra alios Sanctissimi esse vi-
“ derentur, ac Legis Praeceptorum observantissimi, ea latiora
“ quàm

202 *Of the use of Phylacteries,*

Besides, though the Custom of wearing *Phylacteries* is not expressly mentioned in the Old Testament, yet it is more than once alluded to. Solomon says, *Prov. iii. 3. Let not Mercy and Truth forsake thee, bind them about thy Neck, write them upon the Table of thine Heart.* *Isaiab* manifestly alludes to them and to the *Mezuzah*, *Behold, I have graven thee upon the Palms of my Hands, thy Walls are continually before me. Is. xlix. 16.* These metaphorical Allusions might very well have been thought hard, if the People to whom they were spoken had not been acquainted with these Commands. But farther, what is there in these Commands, which are as plain as Words can make them, that is more strange or more unworthy of God, or more unlikely to be thought to be commanded by him, than in the Command of the *Zizith*. Nay the *Zizith* is the more strange Command (if humane Reason be alone consider'd) of the two. Yet that is certainly commanded, tho' but once alluded to, (that I remember) in the whole Old Testament, and that is in *Ezekiel*, who saw one in a Vision take him up by a *Lock of his Head* (*Ez. viii. 3.*) in *Hebrew* the *Zizith of his Head*; which being properly long tufted Strings, or Locks of twisted Wool in the Command might be very well apply'd to *Locks of Hair* by the Prophet, elsewhere the Word occurs not in the *Hebrew Bible*.

“ quàm reliqui Judaei gestarent. Quòd dilatarent igitur, non
 “ quod ferrent, hoc in illis, hoc est Ambitionem, non Obser-
 “ vationem damnavit Dominus.” *Id. ibid. cap. 8. pagg. 257,*
258. Justin Martyr, whom he quotes, is a very material Evi-
 dence, upon the Account of his Age, which was about the Time
 when R. Juda compiled the *Misna*; and some think that the Try-
 phon with whom he disputed, was the R. Tarphon who is quoted
 in these Papers; if so it is still more material; because he was cer-
 tainly a Master of Tradition, and consequently wou'd allow the
 Force of St. Justin's Argument.

The Sum now of what I have said is this. The *Misna* contains the Traditions receiv'd in *Jesus Christ's* Time, together with the Usages in all Cases commanded in the Law of *Moses*, as they were then practised. Now it is taken for granted throughout that whole Book, that the *Shema*, the *Phylacteries*, and the *Mezuzah*, were not Constitutions of the wise Men, but actual Commands in the *written Law*. If these Usages were as old as *Ezra*, we cannot doubt of their being practised before the Captivity. And those that will allow that, cannot tell where to assign a later original of them than the Age of *Moses*. And 'tis certain that we have nothing to lead us to suspect them to be later than the Time of *Ezra*. *Josephus* plainly mentions every one of them as actual Commands left by *Moses* in writing among the rest of the Laws in the *Pentateuch*. His Authority will (I believe) weigh with those that (in my Opinion unreasonably) despise the Authority of the *Misna*. His words are these, "Twice every Day, when it begins, and when it is Time to go to sleep, they [the *Israelites*] were to confess to God the Benefits, which he bestowed upon them, when they were delivered out of the Land of *Aegypt*, because Gratitude is in its nature just, as it is a Return for past Favours, and an Encouragement to grant new. The greatest of the Benefits which God vouchsafed them, were to be inscribed upon their Doors, and upon every Man's Arms. The Things which shewed the Power of God, and his good Will to that People, were to be carry'd about inscribed upon their Heads and Arms, that the Goodness of God might be every where visible." So far *Josephus*.

This

² Δις δ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἀρχομένης τε καὶ αὐτῆς, ἑπὶ πόρτῃ καὶ ὅρμῃ
ἕκαστος τριπλαζ, μαρτυρεῖν τῷ θεῷ τὰς δωρεὰς αἱς ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι αὐτοῖς
ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας γὰρ παρίστα, δικαίας ὕστερ φέρει καὶ ἀρχαίας, καὶ
ἡμετέρας

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This I think is sufficient to shew that the *Sbema*, the *Phylacteries*, and the *Mezuzoth*, were actually commanded in the Law of *Moses*. There are other considerable Christian Writers whom I could quote in defence of my Opinion. If I were singular in this Assertion I shou'd not hope to be believ'd when so many great Men are against me; but as I have a due Deference to their Learning and Judgment in other Things, so I hope I have not used a misbecoming Freedom in what I have advanced against their Authorities.

Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. iv. cap. 8. pag. 122. B. C.





TEXTS of SCRIPTURE

Relating to the

Religious Observation

OF

One Day in SEVEN,

IN THE

Old and New Testament.



CHAP. I.

*Texts relating to the sanctifying of one Day
in seven before the Law.*



EN. ii. 1, 2, 3. “ Thus the Heavens
“ and the Earth were finished, and
“ all the Host of them. And on the
“ SEVENTH Day God ended his Work
“ which he had made; and he rested
“ on the SEVENTH Day from all his
“ Work which he had made. And God BLESSED
“ the SEVENTH Day and SANCTIFIED it; because
“ that in it he had rested from all his Work, which
“ God created and made.”

Moses having finished his History of the Creation which was made in six Days, tells us here what was done on the seventh. God is said to have rested then from his Labours. That is spoken after the manner of Men. The meaning is, that he created no more, because he had finished this visible and material World, and filled the Earth with Animals proper for every part of it. Over them he set Man, to whom he gave the Dominion of this lower World. As he rested on the seventh Day, so he sanctified it; i. e. set it apart for his Use and Service, which is the common Acceptation of that Word in the Hebrew Language. This is said historically here, tho' we find little more concerning the Observation of that Day, till the giving of the Law in the Wilderness. That Silence has led several learned Men to imagine, that *Moses* mentioned this here by way of Anticipation; but since there is nothing in the whole History of the *Ante-diluvian* World, but what from the nature of the Narration appears to have happened in or nearly about the time in which it is said to have been done, why this shou'd be so interpreted I cannot see. That God should acquaint *Adam* with the Time when he was in a more solemn manner to worship his Creator, is by no means unworthy of so beneficent a Being. When he had by his Fall rendred himself unfit for living any longer in Paradise, Sacrifices were instituted; at least we hear nothing of their being instituted before. Now only there is mention of his appointing one Day in seven, in which *Adam* was to remember his own Creation, and the Felicity into which he was newly put in possession.

Gen. viii. 8—12. "Also he sent forth a Dove
 " from him, to see if the Waters were abated from
 " off the face of the Ground: But the Dove found
 " no rest for the sole of her Foot, and she returned
 " unto him into the Ark; for the Waters were on
 " the face of the whole Earth. Then he put forth
 " his

“ his Hand, and took her, and pulled her in unto
 “ him into the Ark. And he stayed yet other SEVEN
 “ Days, and again he sent forth the Dove out of the
 “ Ark. And the Dove came in to him in the Eve-
 “ ning, and lo in her Mouth was an Olive-leaf pluckt
 “ off; so *Noah* knew that the Waters were abated
 “ from off the Earth. And he stayed yet other SE-
 “ VEN Days, and sent forth the Dove, which return-
 “ ed not again here to him any more.”

It is plain by this, that the Dove was sent out of the Ark the second time, just seven Days after the Dove and the Raven were sent out at first; and the third time it was sent out just seven Days after the second. Now if we consider how extremely concise *Moses* is in his History of the old World, (the History of 1656 Years, by the lowest Account, which is that in the *Hebrew* Text of the *Pentateuch*, being contained in seven or eight Chapters of *Genesis*) we cannot think that so minute a Circumstance as that of the Number of the Days, which *Noah* observed in the several sendings of the Dove out of the Ark, should be recorded; or that *Noah* should observe the same distance of time twice together, if it had not been for a particular Reason. The Reason is evident from the *Sanctification* of one Day in seven, mention'd before *Gen. ii.* It is manifest then, that *Noah* upon the seventh Day of the Week, (the Day most probably set apart to worship God) sent these Birds out at first to bring him Tidings, and afterwards sent the Dove twice out upon the same Day on the same Errand.

Gen. xxix. 27, 28. “ Fulfil her WEEK, and we
 “ will give thee this also; for the Service which
 “ thou shalt serve with me, yet seven other Years.
 “ And *Jacob* did so, and fulfilled her WEEK, and he
 “ gave him *Rachel* his Daughter to Wife also.”

Shevua in *Hebrew* always signifies what we call a Week in *English*; i. e. a recurring Period of seven Days. This shews that Marriage Feasts were usually solemn-

solemnized for a *Week* together in those earliest times: This Period for nuptial Solemnities was not only observed by the *Jews*, as appears by the History of *Samson*^a, but by other *Eastern Nations* many Ages after, as may be gathered from *Vashti's* Feast in the Court of *Ahasuerus*, King of *Persia*^b, in which the *seventh Day* is particularly mentioned as a Day of more than ordinary rejoicing: But what is more material to our present Purpose, is, that the Division of *Days* into *Weeks*, which recur every seventh Day, was then observed: Such an Observation will naturally be supposed to have had no other Original, but that of keeping one Day in seven holier than the rest, at first.

Gen. i. 3. "The *Egyptians* mourned for him three-score and ten Days." *Ibid.* 10. "He made a mourning for his Father SEVEN Days."

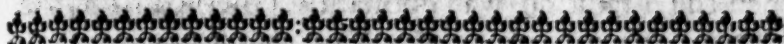
These two Passages shew that great Mournings, as well as great and solemn Festivals, were in these Patriarchal Ages observed by *Weekly* Periods. The *Aegyptians* mourned *ten Weeks* for *Jacob* in their own Land, because he was *Joseph's* Father; and *Joseph* mourned for him *one Week* more, in the Land of *Canaan*, whither his Corps was carry'd to be buried.

Exod. vii. 25. "SEVEN Days were fulfilled, after that the LORD had smitten the River."

It is remarkable, that not only this distance of Time between the Plague of Blood, and that of Frogs was observed, but also that it was recorded. It looks as if the first Plagues which God sent upon the *Aegyptians*, by the Ministry of *Moses*, were inflicted on the SEVENTH Day, which was known in *Pharaoh's* Court, to be observed by the *Israelites*, in *Aegypt*, as well as the Severity of their Captivity would give them leave.

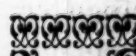
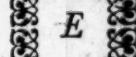
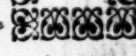
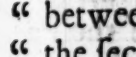
^a *Judg.* xiv. 12, 15, 17, 18.

^b *Esther* i. 10.



C H A P. II.

*Texts relating to the Observation of the
SABBATH under the Law.*


 X O D. xvi. 1. " And they took their

 " Journey from *Elim*, and all the Congre-

 " gation of the Children of *Israel* came

 " unto the Wilderness of *Sin*, which is
 " between *Elim* and *Sinai*, on the fifteenth Day of
 " the second Month, after their departing out of the
 " Land of *Egypt*."

This is the only Day in which the *Israëlites* began any
 of their Marches, that is particularly recorded. The
 Reason is because the *seventh Day* following, *i. e.* the
 twenty second Day of the second Month, is mentioned
 as the *Sabbath*; and from that time afterwards every
seventh Day was constantly observed, as it is still by
 the *Jews* to this very Day. It is not certainly known
 whether this *twenty second Day of the second Month* can
 be carry'd up by computation to the Creation, so as to
 answer to the first *seventh Day* in which God rested
 from all his Works, nor is it material. The Day in
 which God rested from his Work, *Gen. ii. 3.* was
 the seventh from the first Day of the Creation: Here
 then we have the History of one full Week, which
 began with the first *Hexæmeron*; consequently the
Day of Rest, then *sanctify'd*, was the *seventh* and *last*
Day of that Week. If then the *twenty second Day*
of the second Month, which was observed in the Wil-
 derness, as the seventh Day from the fifteenth, was
 the old Patriarchal Day, as it is very probable it was,

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then

then the Tradition was constantly observed from the Days of *Noah* to that time. The Accusation of *Pharaoh*, when he told the Jewish Task-masters, that *they were idle; they were idle^c*, looks very like upbraiding them with keeping one Day in seven as a Day of Rest; at least as often as they could. And if that Day was observed religiously among the *Israelites* in the Land of *Goshen*, as long as *Joseph* lived, or his Memory was grateful to the *Aegyptians*, which must have been so for some considerable time after his Decease; during all which time there is no question but the *Israelites* were well used, there is no doubt but the Memory of that Day was not wholly lost, when *Moses* came to *Pharaoh* in the Name of the Lord, and commanded him to let the Children of *Israel* go: For that one Day in seven was kept holy in the Patriarchal Times, is, I think, evident. Here then was a special and remarkable Miracle wrought, which was repeated every *Friday* for 40 Years together to do Honour to that Day. For

Ibid. 4, 5. "Then said the LORD unto *Moses*,
 "Behold I will rain Bread from Heaven for you, and
 "the People shall go out and gather a certain Rate
 "every Day; that I may prove them, whether they
 "will walk in my Law; or no. And it shall come
 "to pass that on the sixth Day they shall prepare that
 "which they bring in; and it shall be twice as much
 "as they gather daily." And again,

Ibid. 22, 23, 24. "And it came to pass that on
 "the sixth Day they gathered twice as much Bread,
 "two Omers for one Man; and all the Rulers of
 "the Congregation came and told *Moses*. And he
 "said unto them, This is that which the LORD hath
 "said, To morrow is the Rest of the holy SABBATH
 "unto the LORD; bake that which ye will bake to

^c *Exod.* v. 17.

“ Day, and seeth that ye will seeth; and that which
 “ remaineth over, lay up for you to be kept until the
 “ Morning. And they laid it up till the Morning,
 “ as *Moses* bade; and it did not stink, neither was
 “ there any Worm therein.”

This was said by *Moses* on *Friday*, the next Day he speaks thus:

Ibid. 25—30. “ And *Moses* said, eat that to Day,
 “ for to Day is a Sabbath unto the LORD. To Day
 “ ye shall not find it in the Field. Six Days ye shall
 “ gather it, but on the seventh Day, which is the
 “ SABBATH, in it there shall be none. And it came
 “ to pass that there went out some of the People on
 “ the seventh Day for to gather, and they found none.
 “ And the LORD said unto *Moses*, How long refuse
 “ ye to keep my Commandments and my Laws? See
 “ for that the LORD hath given you the SABBATH,
 “ therefore he giveth you on the sixth Day the Bread
 “ of two Days: Abide ye every Man in his Place,
 “ let no Man go out of his Place on the seventh Day.
 “ So the People rested on the seventh Day.”

Here we have a full and clear Institution; or rather a Confirmation of the Institution of the Sabbath. The name SABBATH first occurs here, which was taken from the *Rest* of the Creation, and probably too from the coming of the *Israelites* out of *Canaan*; when they rested from their Labours which they underwent in *Aegypt*; especially if, as some learned Men think, that they pass'd the *Red Sea* upon that Day, and sang their Song of Deliverance in the Evening after they were got over. Whatsoever it was formerly, it was now certainly commanded to be kept as a Feast, and a double quantity of *Manna* was preserved on the sixth Day for that purpose. The *Misnic* Doctors therefore are unquestionably in the right, to prescribe rejoicing by eating and drinking at that time; tho' whether their ascertaining of three Meals from the Repetition of *To Day* thrice in *ψ. 25.* be a sufficient Authority

city for that Practice of theirs, I will not decide. It is manifest that *Moses* bade them eat on that Day what was then left, which was preserved uncorrupted, that it might be eaten. This is of great use to understand what follows afterwards.

Exod. xx. 8—11. “Remember the Sabbath Day
 “to keep it holy. Six Days shalt thou labour, and
 “do all thy Work; but the SEVENTH Day is the
 “SABBATH of the Lord thy God: In it thou shalt
 “not do any Work, thou, nor thy Son, nor thy
 “Daughter; thy Man-servant, nor thy Maid-servant,
 “nor thy Cattel nor thy Stranger that is within thy
 “Gates: For in Six Days the LORD made Heaven
 “and Earth, the Sea and all that in them is, and
 “RESTED the SEVENTH Day; wherefore the Lord
 “Blessed the SABBATH Day and hallowed it.

This is the fourth of the ten Commandments which were given with so great Pomp upon Mount *Sinai*, and which were afterwards writ by the Finger of God in Tables of Stone, to be kept by the *Jews* to future Generations. It is the only Commandment which begins with the Word *Remember*, which cannot well bear any other Interpretation, than that of its being intended to put the *Israëlites* in mind of their having been before commanded to observe one Day in seven, as a Day set apart to the Worship of God; especially if to this initial *Remember* we add the final Clause, in which a Reason is given why they were particularly commanded to keep it holy; which Reason directly refers to what *Moses* relates in the second Chapter of *Genesis*. Therefore as there was a weekly Miracle wrought to enable the *Israëlites* to keep that Day as they ought, so they are directly commanded not to forget it. And the *Remembrance of the Creation* is put into the Law itself, which gives the Introduction to this Law by the Word *Remember* a greater Force.

It

It is very observable, that when *Moses* repeats this Law, *Deut. v.* he omits the *Remembrance of the Creation*, and substitutes the *Remembrance of their Deliverance out of Aegypt in its Room*. This alteration of the Reason of the Institution has given occasion to a late Writer^d to fancy that the fourth Commandment, written by God himself, in the Decalogue, was a *different Law* from that in *Deut. v.* and that the former Sabbath was commanded to be observed upon the first Day of the Week, and the latter upon the Seventh^e. This is directly contrary to the whole Tenour

^d The long Title of this little Book is this: *The Doctrine of the Church of England concerning the Lord's Day, or Sunday Sabbath, as it is laid down in the Liturgy, Catechism and Book of Homilies, vindicated from the vulgar Errors of Modern Writers, and settled upon the only proper and sure Basis of God's Precept to Adam, and patriarchal Practice. Where an Essay is laid down to prove, that the Patriarchal Sabbath instituted Gen. ii. 3. celebrated by the Patriarchs before the Mosaic Law, and re-inforced by the fourth Precept of the Decalogue, was the same Day of the Week, viz. SUNDAY, which Christians celebrate in Memory of the perfecting of the Creation of the World, by the Redemption of Mankind.* London printed for Richard Chiswell, 1683.

^e "For seeing God had sanctify'd the seventh Day whereon he
 " had rested, to be observed by all Men; it was meet that the
 " Jews shou'd keep holy one Day in seven, and that Day which
 " God had peculiarly enjoin'd, viz. Saturday, tho' that was not
 " the Sabbath of the fourth Precept, the Lawgiver having right
 " to dispense with his own Law. And this is clearly the plain
 " meaning of Moses's inserting *Deut. v. 12.* As the Lord hath
 " commanded thee; or rather *יְהוָה צוּר*, had commanded
 " thee, viz. before the publishing of the Decalogue on Mount Si-
 " nai; and of his leaving out *זָכוֹר*, remember, the first word
 " of the fourth Precept, as it was deliver'd on Sinai; by which
 " Word Mankind was called upon to call to mind the Patriarchal
 " Sabbath, or rather his transferring it to his mentioning their
 " Egyptian Bondage, *וְיָזְכְּרוּ*, and remember that thou
 " wast a Bondman, &c. As if Moses had said, Perhaps you
 " may interpret the fourth Precept (repeating the Law of the Pa-
 " triarchal Sabbath) as either vacating that Law of the Sabbath
 " he gave you a little before the Promulgation of that on Mount

nour of the *Mosaic* Law. It is plain that the Decalogue was given to the *Jews* that they shou'd particularly and strictly observe it in *Exod. xx.* The *Remember* in the fourth Commandment, if there is any Retrospect in that word at all, refers either to the Institution confirmed by Miracle a few Weeks before, or to the first Institution at the Creation, or to both. Now it is not pretended but the Sabbath appointed in the Wilderness of *Sin*, was observed when the Law was given upon Mount *Sinai*. The Day then was not transferred, when they were commanded to remember to keep it holy; besides, had there been a Transfer of the Day in a thing of that Importance as

“ *Sinai*, viz. at the first gathering of Manna, or as laying an
 “ Obligation upon you to observe that also, so as you must keep
 “ two Sabbaths in a Week; for the Prevention of either of which
 “ mistakes, now that I am come to the mentioning of the fourth
 “ Precept, I will let you know, that tho' indeed as you are Men,
 “ you are obliged to keep in Memory the Rest of the Creation; yet
 “ as you are Jews, a Nation separated to God from all Nations,
 “ God hath dispensed with you as to the precise Day, and expects
 “ that you shou'd keep that Day which he hath peculiarly appointed
 “ you to celebrate, in Commemoration of his giving you Rest
 “ from Aegyptian Bondage; which was so severe and afflicting,
 “ that in regard thereof it had been better for you that you had
 “ not been created, or dy'd as soon as you were born. Note from
 “ hence that the fourth Precept, when applied to the Jews, ought
 “ to be interpreted as commanding one Day in seven: But as it
 “ stands in the Decalogue, and appertains to all Nations, and
 “ all Ages, it commands the celebration of the precise seventh Day
 “ whereon God rested: So directly contrary to Moses's Exposition
 “ of this Law, do's the common cry of modern Expositors go, who
 “ make it command a seventh Day to all, and the seventh Day
 “ to the Jews.” Pagg. 83, 84, 85. The Ground of all this false
 Reasoning which runs thro' this whole Discourse, is our Author's
 supposing that the first Day of the Creation mention'd Gen. i. 5.
 answer'd to our Monday; then indeed the SEVENTH Day in which
 God rested from his Labours, wou'd be the Sunday following; but
 this is wholly without Foundation. The first Day of the great
 HEXAEMERON was our first Day of the Week, i. e. Sunday; at
 least there is no manner of Pretence from any Thing in Scripture
 from whence the contrary can be concluded.

the

the *Sabbath* was, there wou'd have been some hint of it, directly or indirectly in *Moses's* Law, whereas no such thing appears. And yet we are told that the fourth Commandment in the Decalogue appointed a different SEVENTH Day from that same Commandment in *Deut. v.* The Decalogue then commanded the observation of a Day which was NOT observ'd, nor any Reason given why it was *not* for forty Years together: But this is absurd. The Truth is, God puts the *Jews* in mind of the Creation in the Decalogue, to give the greater Weight to that Command, and to shew why the *Israelites* were enabled in the Wilderness to observe it by a Miracle repeated weekly all the while they were there; but when *Moses* came to give the true original *Misna* of this Law in *Deuteronomy*, he omitted the Reason given before, and superadds another Reason peculiar and endearing to the *Israelites*, which was that of their being brought out of *Aegypt*. If then they pass'd the *Red Sea* upon the Sabbath Day, (as with many great Men that have gone before me, I think they did) this was what they cou'd well remember, at least the elder Men among them cou'd, who pass'd it when they were Children: Thus this Reason now given them by their dying Lawgiver why they shou'd observe that Day, wou'd be to them a new Enforcement of the Obligation they were before under to observe that Law. And since all the other nine Commandments recited by *Moses Deut. v.* are certainly the same with those written in the Decalogue, why this shou'd be different, since there is no Difference assigned but only the Alteration of the Reason why it was observed, will, I believe, be impossible to be made out; especially since it is allow'd that the *Jewish Sabbath*, *i. e.* the *Seventh-Day-Rest*, was constantly kept by the Children of *Israel* during their forty Years sojourning in the Wilderness.

Exod. xxiii. 12. "Six Days thou shalt do thy Work, and on the seventh Day thou shalt rest: That thine Ox and thine Ass may rest, and the Son of thine Handmaid, and the Stranger may be refreshed.

When God had given the Command for the Rest of the Land every seventh Year, he occasionally puts his People in mind of the sabbatical Rest of Days which had been enjoined before. The Ox and the Ass are here named specially, as they are also in *Deut.* v. which farther shews, that *Moses* in his dying Repetition of this Law, had an Eye to what had been commanded before in *Exodus*, both in the Decalogue and here.

Exod. xxiv. 16. "And the Glory of the LORD abode upon Mount *Sinai*, and the Cloud covered it six Days; and the seventh Day he called unto *Moses* out of the midst of the Cloud.

This shews that the ten Commandments were given upon the *Sabbath Day*, and after them the other Laws to the end of the 23^d Chapter. Then *Moses* wrote down those Laws in a Book, and next Morning he rose up early and built an Altar under the Hill, and Burnt-offerings and Peace-offerings were offer'd upon it unto the Lord^f. The Blood of these Sacrifices was put half into Basons, and half sprinkled upon the Altar. Then he took the Book of the Covenant, which he had writ the Night before, and read it in the Audience of all the People, who said, *All that the LORD hath said, will we do, and be obedient*, §. 7. After that he took the Blood that was in the Basons and sprinkled it on the People, and said, *Behold the Blood of the Covenant which the LORD hath made with you, concerning all these words*. §. 8. When the People were thus receiv'd into the Covenant,

^f *Exod.* xxiv. 4, 5.

Moses went up again into the Mount, which was cover'd with a Cloud after he was got up, for six Days together, and on the seventh he called to *Moses* out of the midst of the Cloud: So here was just seventeen Days between the first Promulgation of the Law, and the giving the Directions for making the Tabernacle, and each was done upon a Sabbath; so that whereas the first Sabbath, which was kept by Food gathered upon *Friday*, and miraculously preserved for the Day following, was observed upon the 22^d Day of the second Month, the Decalogue was given the Day fortnight after; and the Day sevensnight after that the Cloud was removed from the Hill, and God gave *Moses*, who staid something above five Weeks there, Directions how his Worship shou'd be observ'd.

Exod. xxxi. 12—17. “ And the LORD spake unto *Moses* saying, Speak thou also unto the Children of *Israël*, saying, Verily my Sabbaths ye shall keep: For it is a Sign between me and you, throughout your Generations; that ye may know that I am the LORD that doth sanctify you. Ye shall keep the Sabbath therefore, for it is holy unto you. Every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death. For whosoever doth any Work therein, that Soul shall be cut off from amongst his People. Six Days may Work be done, but in the seventh is the Sabbath of Rest, holy to the LORD: Whosoever doth any Work in the Sabbath Day, he shall surely be put to Death. Wherefore the Children of *Israël* shall keep the Sabbath to observe the Sabbath throughout their Generations for a perpetual Covenant. It is a Sign between Me and the Children of *Israël* for ever: For in six Days the LORD made Heaven and Earth, and on the seventh Day he rested, and was refreshed.

As the Observation of the Sabbath was enjoined in one of the longest of the ten Commandments, and a Reason was there assign'd why it shou'd be remember'd

to

to be observed: So when *Moses* had receiv'd upon the Mount Directions for the publick Worship of God, and had seen a Pattern of every Thing that was to be made in Order thereunto; just before he came down with the Tables of Stone written by the Finger of God in his Hand, he receiv'd a second In-forcement of this particular Command in these Words. Here the neglect of this Law is made Capital. The reason of its primitive Institution is again repeated. It is plain by that, that this was the same with the Patriarchal Sabbath; and consequently it shews that the Patriarchal Sabbath was observed upon the seventh Day of the Week, and not upon the first. And the particular Reverence with which this Command is treated, shews that this was not one of those *Laws* that *Ezekiel* speaks of, *which were not good, or Statutes by which they cou'd not live.* To averr that of a Law which was a *Sign between God and the Children of Israël for ever*, wou'd sound very harshly. And therefore, though it was afterwards abrogated when the Covenant between God and the Children of *Israël* ceased, as it did after the Crucifixion of our Lord, yet it was not properly a *ceremonial* Law, nor in truth a *moral* one, so far as the stated time of its observati-on was concern'd; but a *judicial* one, particularly then relating to that People, with whom God had entred into a Covenant of which the SABBATH was the Seal. This has not, as I think, been enough consider'd by many of those who have written upon this Subject; and yet it is of great Use to such as wou'd enquire into the validity of its Abrogation.

But the particular Reason why the *Sabbatical Laws* were now revived and enforced by severer Penalties than were exprest at first, was that the *Jews* might see, that though the Service of the Tabernacle immediately related to the Worship of God; yet nothing that belong'd to the making of that, or any of its Utensils might be done upon pain of Death on the

the Sabbath Day. Hence it is, that when the *Jewish* Commentators upon the *Misna* reckon up the thirty nine Works that are forbidden to be done upon the Sabbath, they take care to shew that every one of them was employ'd in the making of the Tabernacle, and preparing of every Thing that was necessary for its Service.

Exod. xxxiv. 21. "Six Days thou shalt work, but on the seventh Day thou shalt rest; in Ear-
"ing-time, and in Harvest thou shalt rest.

The Observation of this Day is here again requir'd; to teach the *Israelites*, that even in the busiest Times of the Year, when they plow their Ground in order to sow, and when they bring in their Harvest, they must not intermit the celebration of the Sabbath, the neglect of which had been made capital just before.

Exod. xxxv. 1, 2, 3. "And *Moses* gather'd all
"the Congregation of the Children of *Israel* toge-
"ther, and said unto them, these are the Words
"which the LORD hath commanded that ye should
"do them. Six Days shall Work be done, but on
"the seventh Day there shall be to you an holy Day,
"a Sabbath of Rest to the LORD; whosoever doth
"work therein shall be put to Death. Ye shall kin-
"dle no Fire throughout your Habitations upon the
"Sabbath Day.

What God had enjoined to *Moses* upon his coming down from the Mount^s, is here repeated to the People, in the Name of the Lord. *Kindling of Fires* (not *preserving* of them when they are already *kindled*) on that Day is superadded. This explains and justifies the *Elders* in the strictness of their Constitutions that relate to the *lighting of Fires*, which we see in Title *Shabbath*.

Exod. xxxi. 12—17.

Levit. xiii., and *xiv.* In these two Chapters are contain'd the Laws of judging and determining in Cases of Leprosy that related to Men, and Cloaths, and Houses. I mention them here, because when any Person or Thing was shut up by the Priest, in order to discern whether they were leprous or not, they were always shut up *seven Days*. It is not certain from the Text of the Law, whether the Day on which they were shut up, and that afterwards on which they were examin'd, were *Sabbath Days* or not. The *Masters of Tradition*^h have decreed, that no Examinations of leprous Cases, or Decisions upon them, shall be made upon the Sabbath, because they were *Acts of Judicature*, and consequently ought not to be done upon that Day. Accordingly they prescribe Rules by which care might be taken that no *judicial Act* relating to this Affair might be done upon that Day. They seem to me to be too nice in this Matter, since the Letter of the Lawⁱ only says, that the Person or Thing suspected shall be shew'd to the Priest, who shall shut them up or not, as he shall see Cause. The Day of the Week is not mention'd, and consequently no Day forbidden. Now if we consider what went before, that in *Earing-time* and *Harvest*, they might not work upon that Day, and that all works that related to the making the Tabernacle and its Utensils, were then forbidden upon pain of Death, we can hardly imagine that the mention of the *Sabbath* wou'd have been omitted had it been necessary. In short, it seems to have been highly advisable, that the suspected Person or Thing shou'd be shut up as soon as they were suspected, otherwise Uncleanesses might have been exceedingly multiply'd, which in some Cases wou'd have been very inconvenient. But

^h *Title Negaim.*
35, 36.

ⁱ *Levit. xiii.* 2, 3, 4, 49, 50. *Levit. xiv*

whether the *Sabbath Day* was forbidden or allow'd as to making Enquiries, or passing Judgments in Cases of this Nature, this is certain, that God had a special regard to this Division of Weeks, (which depended originally and entirely upon the Institution of the Sabbath) in judging concerning Cases of Uncleaness, (of which those relating to Leprosy were some of the chiefest) that Men might endeavour to be clean, whenever they were to attend upon the publick Service and Worship of God.

Before I leave this Subject I would farther observe the Hypocrisy of the *Masters* in this Affair. It is plain by the Text of *Moses's Law*, that the sole Judgment in Cases of Uncleaness belonged to the Priest. Accordingly our Saviour always commanded the Lepers whom he cleansed to shew themselves to the Priest, that he might see that they were clean, and then pronounce them to be so. This the *Elders* could not alter, nor did they attempt it; but then they made the *Priests* subject to their *Wise Men*, and as the *Masters instructed the Priests*, so they were obliged to pronounce in all leprous Cases that were brought before them. Their Pretence of doing this was, that every Priest that could but see, and speak, let him otherwise have been never so incapable of doing any judicial Act which required the least measure of common Sense, might be instructed to pass Judgment in this matter. Such a Power wou'd consequently bring their *wise Men* oftener into Play. Thus the Priests whose Power was given them immediately and solely by God himself, were subjected to the Determinations and Directions of these *Elders*. The *Examiner* here is not the *Priest*, the *Priest* only speaks as the *Examiner* directs him^k. It is plain from this, that

^k " Omnes legitimi sunt ad Plagas lustrandas, nisi quòd immundities & mundities dependeant à Sacerdote. Dicunt ei, dic, *immundus est*, & is respondet, *immundus*: dic *mundus est*, & is respondet, *mundus*. Negaim. III. 1.

let the ancient *Pharisaism* have been what it would, it was not *PRIESTCRAFT*. The *Elders* in this Case were rather a sort of *Lay Chancellors*, who when a Sentence of *Excommunication* or *Absolution* is to be pronounced, bring a Priest along with them, and set him upon the Bench, to pronounce such a Sentence as they direct.

It will not, I hope, be thought an unnecessary Digression, if I observe here, that in many other Cases, as well in the Patriarchal Times as under the Law, there was a particular regard paid to the number *Seven* in sacred Things, with a manifest view to the Observation of the *Sabbath* as the *seventh Day*. When *Abraham* made a Covenant with *Abimelech*; he set *seven Lambs* by themselves to give to *Abimelech*; to be a witness unto him that *Abraham* had dug that Well. (*Gen. xxi. 28, 30.*) Here both of them sware; and the Well was called *Beersheba*, i. e. the *Well of the Oath*. *Job's* Friends were commanded to carry *seven Bullocks* and *seven Rams* to him, and offer them for a *Burnt Offering*, that *Job* might pray for them whom God promised to accept. (*Job xlii. 8.*) *Balaam* order'd *Balak* three times successively to build *seven Altars*, and to offer a *Bullock* upon each of them; that God whom he endeavour'd to bring over to his side against the *Israelites*, might be the better pleased when he saw such a regard paid by this number *seven*, to him who on the *seventh Day* rested from all his Works. When *Elisha* raised the *Shunamite's* Child from the Dead, it sneezed *seven times*, and the number, which was taken notice of by the Prophet, is particularly recorded. (*2 Kings iv. 35.*) The same *Elisha* also order'd the idolatrous *Naaman* to wash *seven times* in the Waters of *Jordan*, that he might be cleansed from his Leprosy. This would naturally put him in mind of the *Jewish Sabbath*, which was appointed in memory of the *Seventh-day* rest after the Creation.

Levit:

Levit. xvi. 31. "It shall be a Sabbath of Rest unto you, and ye shall afflict your Souls by a Statute for ever.

The great Day of Expiation, which was the tenth Day of the seventh Month, is called here a *Sabbath*, because no servile Work might be done in it; alluding to the signification of the *Hebrew* word, otherwise it widely differs from the ordinary *Sabbath*; for this Day was fixed to a particular Day of the *Month*, not of the *Week*, and it was a *Fast*, and the only one that was enjoined in the *Mosaic* Law.

Levit. xix. 1—4. "And the LORD spake unto *Moses*, saying, speak unto all the Congregation of the Children of *Israel*, and say unto them, Ye shall be holy, for I the LORD your God am holy. Ye shall fear every Man his Mother, and his Father, and keep my SABBATHS, I am the LORD your God. Turn ye not unto Idols, nor make to your selves molten Gods: I am the LORD your God.

These Laws are pronounced with great Solemnity, and the weighty *Epiphonema*, *I am the LORD your God*, is repeated after each of them. The fourth Commandment is here joined with the fifth, and follow'd by the second.

Levit. xix. 30. and *Levit. xxvi. 2.* "Ye shall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary. I am the LORD.

These solemn Words are repeated twice. The publick Worship in the Sanctuary, first in the Tabernacle, and afterwards in the Temple, is here joined with keeping the Sabbath. This directs us to the main and principal Reason of its original Institution. Thus we shall hereafter see, that the *first Day of the Week* was religiously observed by the first Christians of the Apostolick Age, as a Day on which they met together to serve God, in the most solemn Instances of Christian Worship.

Levit. xxiii. 1, 2, 3. " And the LORD spake unto
 " *Moses*, saying, Speak unto the Children of *Israël*,
 " and say unto them concerning the Feasts of the
 " LORD, which ye shall proclaim to be holy *Convo-*
 " *cations*, even these are my Feasts. Six Days shall
 " Work be done, but the Seventh Day is the Sab-
 " bath of Rest, *an holy Convocation*, ye shall do no
 " Work therein. It is the SABBATH of the LORD
 " in all your Dwellings.

In this Chapter *Moses* from the Lord declares to the People which are their *holy Convocations*, of which he puts the *Sabbath* first. The Feasts mention'd in this Chapter are call'd *Moade* (which we render *Feasts*) because they were observed constantly at regularly recurring Times: They were called *Mikraë* (*Convocations*) because on those Days the People were publickly called together to attend the Service of the Tabernacle first, and afterwards of the Temple.

Ibid. 11. " And he shall wave the Sheaf before the
 " LORD, to be accepted for you: on the morrow
 " after the *Sabbath* the Priest shall wave it.

The *Wave-Sheaf*, which was the *first Fruits of their Harvest*, might as well be offer'd the next Day, as upon the Sabbath, therefore it was expressly postpon'd. The *Sabbath* mention'd here was not the weekly one, but the Day of the *holy Convocation* (*i. e.* the first Day) of the *Passover*; the 15th Day of *Nisan* or *Abib*, as it was called in *Moses's* Time, in which Month the *sacred Year* of the *Jews* began, for which Reason it is called the *first Month*, pursuant to God's Command to *Moses*, *Exod. xii. 2.* From this Month the Months that are numerically named in the Old Testament, are always reckon'd.

Ibid. 15, 16. " And ye shall count unto you from
 " the Morrow after the Sabbath, from the Day that
 " ye brought the Sheaf of the Wave-offering, seven
 " Sabbaths shall be compleat. Even unto the Mor-

“morrow after the seventh Sabbath shall ye number
 “50 Days, and ye shall offer a new Meat-offering
 “unto the LORD.

Here the Time when the *Feast of Weeks* (or *Pentecost*) is to be observed is exactly determin'd. From this Calculation which is here expressly commanded to be made, we learn that the great *Pentecost Acts ii.* when the Holy Ghost fell upon the Apostles after the Ascension, happen'd upon a *Sunday*. So that our Lord rose upon the same Day of the Week that the Comforter came, when the Promise of *Jesus Christ* was fulfilled, and the Work of our Redemption was exactly compleated. From hence the true Reason of the Sanctification of the *Christian Sabbath* upon the *first Day of the Week* is, and ought to be fetched. The Passover was killed upon the 14th of *Nisan*, about three a Clock in the Afternoon. At that Instant Christ, the *Christians Passover*, was sacrificed for us. On the 15th was the great *Sabbath*, so called because the *weekly Sabbath*, and the *first Day of unleavened Bread* fell on the same Day. Then every Body rested, as the Women did (*Luke xxiii. 56.*) according to the Commandment. All that Day the Body of *Jesus Christ* rested in the Grave. On the 16th the Wave-Sheaf was offer'd, that was the first Day of the Week; then our Saviour rose. On the 50th Day after that, taken inclusively, which was the same Day of the Week, was the great *Pentecost*. This, tho' it will be repeated afterwards, is mention'd here, that it may be the more easily compared with the Law it self.

Ibid. 24. “Speak unto the Children of *Israel*,
 “saying, In the seventh Month, in the first Day of
 “the Month, shall ye have a Sabbath, a Memorial of
 “blowing of Trumpets, an holy Convocation.

The *Feast of Trumpets*, or as the *Misnic* Doctors call it, *The Beginning of the Year*, was always the first Day of *Tisri*, the seventh Month from *Nisan*. *Tisri*,
 Q which

which partly answers to our *September*, is the first Month of the Year with the *Jews* in *Civil* Matters, as *Nisan* is in Ecclesiastical. From the first of that Month they compute the Years of the World, as we reckon our Year upon *January 1st*, or *March 25th*, from the Nativity of *Jesus Christ*. This Year (1717.) is according to their *Aera*, the 5477th Year from the Creation. This first Day of *Tisri* is called a *Sabbath*, because it was a *holy Convocation*, for otherwise the Day of the Week was accidental.

Ibid. 32. "It shall be unto you a Sabbath of Rest, and ye shall afflict your Souls in the ninth Day of the Month at Even: from Even unto Even shall celebrate your Sabbath.

The tenth of *Tisri* was the great Fast. The *Mishna* calls it *Yoma*, i. e. the DAY. It is called a *Sabbath*, because it was a *Day of Rest*; not because it was a Feast, for it was directly the contrary.

Ibid. 38. "Beside the Sabbaths of the LORD, and beside your Gifts, and beside all your Vows, and beside all your Free-will-offerings which ye shall give unto the LORD.

Sabbaths here are the ordinary seventh Days of every Week. The Lord, here and in the foregoing Verse, tells the People, that these (*Moadim*) *stated Feasts*, which depend upon particular Days of the respective Months, and are calculated from the 14th Day of *Nisan*, must be carefully observed, and the Offerings enjoined to be made upon those Days punctually paid, as well as those other Feasts and Offerings mention'd in this Verse.

Ibid. 39. "Also in the 15th Day of the seventh Month, when ye have gathered in the Fruit of the Land, ye shall keep a Feast unto the LORD seven Days: on the first Day shall be a Sabbath, and on the eighth Day shall be a Sabbath.

That is, the first and eighth Days of the *Feast of Tabernacles* shall be *holy Convocations*, and consequently

ly *Sabbaths*, or *Days of Rest*. It is observable that there are no less than three solemn Assemblies in this Month, the *Feast of Trumpets*, and the great *DAY of Expiation*, which lasted but one Day each; and the *Feast of Tabernacles*, which lasted eight Days. These Feasts were held in the seventh Month from *Nisan*, and it looks as if God intended that his People shou'd keep a *Sabbatical Month* every Year, as well as a *Sabbath* every seventh Day, and a *Sabbatical Year* which recurred every seventh Year, and the *Jubilee*, which was the seventh *Sabbatical Year*. These were all Signs of the same Covenant; and when that Covenant fell, they fell too, along with it.

Levit. xxiv. 8. "Every Sabbath he shall set it in Order before the LORD continually, being taken from the Children of *Israel*, by an everlasting Covenant.

This relates to the Service of the Sanctuary, when the twelve Loaves (one to represent every Tribe) were set upon the Table before the Mercy Seat; which were removed, and new ones put in their Places every Sabbath Day.

Levit. xxv. is chiefly taken up with Directions for the Observation of *Sabbatical Years* in which they were neither to sow their Fields, nor prune their Vineyards, because then there was to be a Sabbath for the Land. And of the great Jubilee, which recurred every seventh *Sabbatical Year*, and was always proclaim'd by sound of Trumpet upon the tenth of *Tisri*, which was the *Day of Expiation*. The Reason why it was proclaim'd upon that Day was, because as the Atonement on that Day made (when the High-Priest went into the Holy of Holies; not without Blood, which he offer'd for himself; and for the Errors of the People¹, was in order to obtain forgiveness for all the People; so it was proper that on

¹ *Heb. ix. 7.*

that Day also those who were ground with Debts, and lay under the Oppression of heavy Mortgages shou'd find Relief. Every Jubilee therefore, Liberty to Slaves, and Redemption of Mortgages upon Lands, was enjoin'd; and on this Day it was proclaimed, that the Bodies and Estates of the Afflicted might find Relief, at a Time when by virtue of a Gracious Promise from God, their *Sins were forgiven*, and their *Iniquities remember'd no more*.

Numb. xv. 32—36. “ And while the Children of “ *Israël* were in the Wilderness, they found a Man “ that gathered Sticks upon the SABBATH Day. And “ they that found him gathering Sticks brought him “ unto *Moses* and *Aaron*, and unto all the Congrega- “ tion: And they put him in Ward, because it was “ not declared what shou'd be done to him. And the “ LORD said unto *Moses*, The Man shall be surely “ put to Death: all the Congregation shall stone “ him with Stones without the Camp. And all the “ Congregation brought him without the Camp, and “ stoned him with Stones, and he dy'd; as the LORD “ commanded *Moses*.

The Commandments given before *Exod. xxxi. 15.* and *Exod. xxxv. 2.* in which the doing any Work upon the Sabbath was declared capital, immediately related to the doing any servile Work about the making of the Tabernacle, and its several Utenfils, and seem so to be understood by these *Jews*. The Offence of this Man was of another Nature. He gathered Sticks, in all probability, only to make, or perhaps to mend his Fire, with which he dress'd his Victuals, or warm'd himself upon the Sabbath. It is likely they thought this was not so severely forbidden as the other was; and therefore they only kept him in Ward, and wou'd not proceed against him any farther till the Lord shou'd declare what he wou'd have done to him. It is possible also that the Nature of the Deaths which those were to die who broke the Sabbath by the for-

mer Commands in *Exodus*, not being there express'd the People were willing, since a Case here offer'd it self, to have that matter ultimately decided by God himself. For perhaps the Man that gather'd Sticks, and those that saw him, might think that if he was to die for gathering these Sticks, he was only to be *put to death by the Command of God*; and that that Phrase (*put to death*, in those Laws) signify'd no more than *to be cut off from among his People*, which was never understood to be by the Hands of the Executioner, or his Brethren. What the Punishment which God enjoin'd was we see, and by the equalling this Man's Punishment with that of the Son of *Shelomith*, who *blasphemed the Name of the LORD and cursed*^m, the great Stress which was laid upon this Commandment was plainly shewn.

Upon this, as is hereafter largely declaredⁿ, the whole Doctrine of *Removals*, upon which the *Masters of Tradition* lay so great weight, entirely depends. And in Truth they are not to be blamed for being scrupulously exact about it; since they seem to act in pursuance of those Ideas which led the *Israelites* here in the Wilderness to bring this unhappy Man to *Moses*, that they might know what shou'd be done unto him. For tho' they did not perhaps know that God wou'd punish him with Death, or at least with what Death, yet they rightly judged that he was guilty of a very great Crime. What he did was on the *Sabbath Day*, and was a *Sin of Presumption*, i. e. he certainly knew it was the *Sabbath Day*, and that he gave Offence to his Brethren in what he did. The Punishment therefore which was thus inflicted upon him, was an effectual Method to restrain others from doing the like for the future; and gives Light to abundance of Constitutions in the *Misna*, which other-

^m *Levit. xxiv. 11.*

ⁿ *Shabbath i. 1. and Erubin. i. 1.*

wife may appear to be more superstitious than they really are: Our Lord therefore found no fault with the *Pharisees* in this matter; and when he order'd the paralytic Man, whom he healed, *to take up his Bed and walk*, he cur'd him first; and by doing so declared himself (as he did in vindication of his Disciples, when they *plucked the Ears of Corn on the Sabbath Day*) to be Lord also of the Sabbath; and consequently one that had a Power to dispense with Laws, which, had it not been for this Dispensation granted by one that had a competent Authority, would still have remained in their full Vigour and Force.

Numb. xxviii. 9, 10. And on the Sabbath Day
 “ two Lambs of the first Year, without spot, and
 “ two Tenth-deals of Flour for a Meat-offering
 “ mingled with Oil, and the Drink-offering thereof.
 “ This is the Burnt-offering of every Sabbath, be-
 “ sides the continual Burnt-offering, and his Drink-
 “ offering.

These were over and above what was offer'd in the daily Sacrifice. See *Patrick* upon the Place, and *Abarbinell's Preface to his Commentary upon Leviticus*, which is publish'd in *Hebrew and Latin*, at the end *Mr. Du Veil's Translation of Maimonides de Sacrificiis*.

Deut. v. 12—15. “ Keep the Sabbath Day to sancti-
 “ fy it, as the LORD thy God hath commanded thee.
 “ Six Days thou shalt labour and do all thy work:
 “ But the seventh Day is the SABBATH of the LORD
 “ thy God; in it thou shalt not do any work, thou,
 “ nor thy Son, nor thy Daughter, nor thy Man-ser-
 “ vant, nor thy Maid-servant, nor thine Ox, nor
 “ thine Ass, nor any of thy Cattel, nor thy Stranger
 “ that is within thy Gates: that thy Man-servant and
 “ thy Maid-servant may rest as well as thou. And
 “ REMEMBER that thou wast a Servant in the
 “ Land of *Aegypt*, and that the LORD thy God
 “ brought thee out thence, through a mighty
 “ Hand,

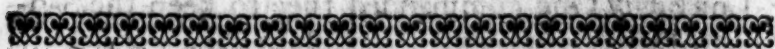
“ Hand, and by a stretched out Arm: therefore the
 “ LORD thy God commanded thee to keep the Sab-
 “ bath Day.

This Book is, as the Greek Title, which we retain in *English*, rightly calls it, *the second Law*, or a Repetition and Explication of a great deal that had been commanded before in *Exodus*, *Leviticus* and *Numbers*; so that this is the true, old, genuine *Misna*°, from which the meaning of many Laws which are obscurely exprest in the former Books, may and ought to be fetch'd. Some new Cases are also here decided. The fourth Commandment is here differently exprest than it is in *Exodus*, and another Reason of its Institution assign'd. This has been spoken to already P.

• *Misna in Hebrew, is the same with Deuteronomy in Greek, i. e. the second Law. For which Reason Christian Writers often call the Misna Δευτερονόμιον, and the Misnic Doctors Διδασκαλοι. S. Jerome was the first that used the word in this Sense.*

P Vide supra Notes upon Exod. xx. 8—11. p. 210





C H A P. III.

*Texts of Scripture relating to the Observa-
tion of the Sabbath before the Captivi-
ty, in the Historical Books of the old
Testament.*

OSH. vi. 3, 4. "Ye shall compass the
City, all ye Men of War, and go round
about the City once; thus shalt thou do
fix Days. And seven Priests shall bear
before the Ark seven Trumpets of Rams Horns;
and the seventh Day ye shall compass the City se-
ven times, and the Priests shall blow with the
Trumpets.

It is very probable that *Jericho* was taken upon the *Sabbath Day*. If so, they began to surround the City upon the first Day of the Week. The miraculous Fall of the Walls of *Jericho* is particularly taken notice of as the work of Faith ⁹ in the *Israelitish* Army, who follow'd the Priests by God's Command in that glorious Procession, when seven Priests carry'd seven Trumpets before the Ark, and they went round the City seven times upon the seventh Day blowing of Trumpets before the Ark. When I consider this, and that the whole City, and all that was in it (except the Silver and Gold, and the Vessels of Brass and Iron) were actually destroy'd by the express Command of God; and that *Achan*, who saved some of the

⁹ Heb. xi. 30.

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Spoil, was put to Death for so doing, he and all his House. I think I may positively assert that the Walls of *Jericho* fell down upon the Sabbath Day: And that in this whole Affair there was a particular Regard to the Sanctity of the *Sabbath*, as it was the *seventh Day*. In no one part of that Days work the People did their own ways, found their own pleasure, or spoke their own words. *Achan* doubtless was not the only Man in the Army, who wou'd willingly have saved some of the Spoils of the City if they durst; and there were, without question, other goodly *Babylonish Garments* besides that which he took in that flourishing City. By this Miracle then, thus wrought upon the Sabbath Day, God taught the *Israelites*, whose *Manna* had failed but a few Days before, what regard they ought to pay to the Sabbath; now that they were come into a Land, where they could be supported every Day of the Week, without any miraculous Assistance from Heaven.

Judg. xiv. 12. " And *Samson* said unto them, I will now put forth a Riddle unto you; if you can certainly declare it me within the seven Days of the Feast, and find it out, then I will give you thirty Sheets, and thirty change of Garments.

Ibid. 15. " And it came to pass on the seventh Day, that they said unto *Samson's* Wife, Entice thy Husband.

Ibid. 17. " And she wept before him the seven Days, while their Feast lasted, and it came to pass on the seventh Day that he told her.

Ibid. 18. " And the Men of the City said unto him on the seventh Day, before the Sun went down, What is sweeter than Honey? And what is stronger than a Lion?

This wedding Feast of *Samson's* has been mention'd already. What I would observe farther is, that it

appears by the *Misna*^s, that the Bride was usually brought home to her Husband's House upon the going out of the Sabbath, and then the seventh Day of the Feast was the Sabbath following. Whether that was the Custom in *Samson's* Time is uncertain. The wedding Week was certainly observed among the *Philistines*, among whom he then was, as solemnly as among the *Jews*.

2 *Sam.* xii. 18. "And it came to pass on the seventh Day that the Child died.

It is very probable that *Nathan* acquainted *David* from God, of the Greatness of his Sin in murdering *Uriah*, and taking his Wife, upon the SABBATH Day, and then struck the Child the SABBATH following, to make *David* yet more sensible of the Greatness of his Sin, and to turn those two Festivals into Days of Mourning to him. This would humble him much more than if it had happen'd at other Times, in the return of which there had been nothing memorable, or if the Child had dy'd immediately upon *Nathan's* delivery of the Message.

2 *Kings* iv. 23. "And he said, Wherefore wilt thou go to him to Day? It is neither New Moon nor Sabbath.

This Question which the *Shunammite's* Husband asked her, shews that under the first Temple it was usual to attend the Services of Religion upon the Sabbath; and consequently that this Observation then consisted among devout People in something more than bare Rest. There are no Footsteps in the Old Testament of *Synagogues*, or Places where the People met regularly every Sabbath to hear the Law read and expounded, as they did after *Ezra's* Time. But yet this Text indisputably proves, that on the Sabbaths and New Moons the Prophets were particularly apply'd to, to know the Mind of God.

^s *Shabbath* xxiii. 4.

2 *Kings* xi. 9. " And the Captains over the Hundreds did according to all Things that *Jehoiada* the Priest commanded, and they took every Man his Men that were to come in on the *Sabbath*, with them that should go out on the *Sabbath*, and came to *Jehoiada* the Priest.

2 *Chron.* xxiii. 8. " So the *Levites* and all *Judah* did according to all Things that *Jehoiada* the Priest had commanded, and took every Man his Men that were to come in on the *Sabbath*, with them that were to go out on the *Sabbath Day*; for *Jehoiada* the Priest dismiss not the Courses.

From these two Passages compar'd together it appears that the King's Guard did Duty at the Temple, and were reliev'd every *Sabbath Day*, and the *Levites* the same; only for different Reasons, the one for the King's Safety, the other to perform the Offices of the daily Ministrations. And that upon this extraordinary Occasion *Jehoiada* the High Priest did not dismiss the Courses of the Guards and *Levites*, that there might be a double Number of Men ready to defend the young King, and to oppose *Athaliah*.

2 *Kings* xvi. 18. " And the Covert for the *Sabbath* that they had built in the House, and the King's Entry without, turned he from the House of the LORD, for the King of *Affyria*.

What this Covert for the *Sabbath* was is not certainly known. The Jewish Interpreters seem to think it was a Guard House in the outward Court, in which the Soldiers, who were reliev'd every *Sabbath Day*, kept their Watch. It certainly was something of that Nature which was removeable, and of which Money might be made to pacify the King of *Affyria*, which was what King *Abaz* wanted extremely. Mr. *Le Clerc* thinks with great probabi-

† See *Kimchi* and *R. Levi ben Gersom* upon the place.

‡ In Locum.

lity that it was cover'd with Plates of Brass, which were then taken off and sold. This Opinion of his no ways contradicts what the *Jews* say before.

1 *Chron.* ix. 32. " And other of their Brethren of the Sons of the *Kobathites*, were over the *Shew-Bread* to prepare it every *Sabbath*.

The shifting of the *Shew-Bread* every *Sabbath-Day* was commanded *Levit.* xxiv. 8. Here the particular Family that was to attend that Service is specify'd.

1 *Chron.* xxiii. 31. " And to offer all Burnt-sacrifices unto the LORD in the SABBATHS, in the New Moons, and on the set Feasts, by number, according to the Order-commanded unto them continually before the LORD.

We have in this Chapter the Distribution which *David* made of the Services of the *Levites*, whose Office was to wait upon the Sons of *Aaron* for the Service of the House of the LORD; (v. 28.) One of the chiefest of those Offices; besides the daily Sacrifice, was to offer the *Additional Sacrifices* upon the *Sabbaths*, and other *Festivals* here enumerated.

2 *Chron.* ii. 4. " Behold I build an House to the Name of the LORD my God, to dedicate it to him, and to burn before him sweet Incense, and for the continual *Shew-Bread*, and for the Burnt-offerings Morning and Evening, on the SABBATHS, and on the New Moons, and on the solemn Feasts of the LORD our God. This is an Ordinance for ever to *Israel*.

Solomon here pursues the Designs of his Father *David*, and determines to build that House, for the Service of which the *Levites* were before appointed.

2 *Chron.* viii. 12, 13. " Then *Solomon* offer'd Burnt-offerings unto the LORD on the Altar of the LORD, which he had built before the Porch; even after a certain Rate every Day, offering according to the Commandment of *Moses*, on the

SAB-

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“ SABBATHS, and on the New Moons, and on the
“ solemn Feasts three Times in the Year.

Here we see the Service of the House of the LORD
(of which that on the Sabbath was a considerable
part,) actually begun.

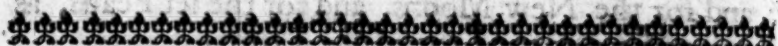
2 Chron. xxxi. 3 “ He appointed also the King’s
“ Portion of his Substance for the Burnt-offerings,
“ to wit, for the Morning and Evening Burnt-offer-
“ ings, and the Burnt-offerings for the SABBATHS,
“ and for the New Moons, and for the set Feasts, as
“ it is written in the Law of the LORD.

Hezekiah here imitates the Piety of Solomon, in re-
storing the Service which had been so much inter-
mitted, or neglected, during the Idolatrous Reign of
Abaz.

2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. “ To fulfil the word of the
“ LORD by the Mouth of *Jeremiah*: until the Land
“ had enjoy’d her *Sabbaths*: for as long as she lay
“ desolate, she kept *Sabbath*, to fulfil threescore and
“ ten Years.

God had foretold in *Leviticus* xxvi. that if the *Is-
raëlites* shou’d obstinately persevere in breaking his
Laws, *That the Land should enjoy her Sabbaths as long
as it lay desolate, and they were in their Enemies Land;
even then should the Land rest, and enjoy her Sabbaths.
As long as it lay desolate it should rest; because it did
not rest in their Sabbaths, when they dwelt upon it.
(v. 34, 35.) And again, That the Land should be left
of them, and should enjoy her Sabbaths, while she lay
desolate without them, because they despised his judg-
ments, and their Soul abhorred his Statutes. (v. 43.)*
This Threatning that the *Land should enjoy her Sab-
baths* was literally fulfilled during the Captivity. Then
its Inhabitants were carry’d away, and none placed
in their room. In *Sbalmanezzer’s* Time, who carry’d
away the Inhabitants of the Land of *Israël* into *Affy-
ria*, the *Cuthaeans*, the *Babylonians*, and the Men of
Ava, *Hamath* and *Sepharvaim* were sent into *Palae-
stine.*

time. But *Nebuchadnezzar* sent none out of *Babylonia* to supply the Places of the *Jews* in *Judaea*. Thus every Year was a Sabbatical Year to the Land which was untilled. This had been foretold by *Jeremiah**, and the Land enjoy'd ten whole Sabbaths of Years, as a Punishment to its Inhabitants for their Covetousness, who tilled it on the Sabbatical Years, contrary to God's express Command.



CHAP. IV.

Texts of Scripture relating to the Observation of the Sabbath in the Prophets before the Captivity.

SAIAH i. 13, 14. "Bring no more
 1 "vain Oblations, Incense is an Abomina-
 "tion unto me, the New Moons and
 "SABBATHS, the calling of Assemblies I
 "cannot away with; it is Iniquity, even the Solemn
 "meeting. Your New Moons and your appointed
 "Feasts my Soul hateth; they are a Trouble unto
 "me, I am weary to bear them.

Isaiah began to Prophecy towards the latter end of *Uzziab's* Reign, above 150 Years before the Captivity of *Jeconiah*; from whence the 70 Years of the *Babylonish* Captivity (during which the Land enjoy'd her Sabbaths) take their Rise; and from the last Stroke when *Nebuzaradan* carry'd the Bulk of the People into *Babylonia* above 170 Years. How crying the Sins of the *Jews* were at that Time appears by these words. God here declares that these Festi-

* *Jer.* xxv. 11, 12. and *Jer.* xxix. 10.

vals (of which I have often said that the *Sabbath* was the chiefest) were an Abomination to him, tho' they were duly and exactly observ'd, as appears by the 11th Verse, in which he owns that they offer'd a multitude of Sacrifices, and that he was full of the Burnt-offerings of Rams, and the fat of fed Beasts.

If. lvi. 1—7. “ Thus saith the LORD, Keep ye
“ Judgment, and do Justice: for my Salvation is near
“ to come, and my Righteousness to be revealed:
“ Blessed is the Man that doth this, and the Son of
“ Man that layeth hold on it: that *KEEPETH* the
“ *SABBATH* from *polluting* it, and keepeth his
“ Hand from doing any Evil. Neither let the Son
“ of the Stranger, that hath joined himself to the
“ LORD speak, saying, The LORD hath utterly se-
“ parated me from his People; neither let the Eu-
“ nuch say, Behold, I am a dry Tree. For thus
“ saith the LORD unto the Eunuchs that *keep* my
“ *Sabbaths*, and choose the Things that please me,
“ and *take hold* of my *Covenant*. Even unto them
“ will I give in mine House, and within my Walls, a
“ Place and a Name better than of Sons and of Daugh-
“ ters: I will give them an everlasting Name, that shall
“ not be cut off. Also the Sons of the Stranger, that join
“ themselves to the LORD, to serve him, and to love
“ the Name of the LORD, to be his Servants, every
“ one that keepeth the *SABBATH*, from polluting it,
“ and *taketh hold* of my *Covenant*: Even them will I
“ bring to my holy Mountain, and make them joy-
“ ful in my House of Prayer; their Burnt-offerings
“ and their Sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine
“ Altar; for mine House shall be called an House of
“ Prayer for all People.”

It is plain by these words compar'd with the foregoing, that those to whom the Prophet speaks in the Beginning of his Prophecy in *Uzziab's* Time, did not *keep the Sabbath* as they ought. They were unjust and cruel, and *Idolatry* was afterwards introduc'd in-

to the Temple by King *Abaz*. Then idolatrous Sacrifices were offer'd in the Temple on the Sabbath, by which means it was manifestly *polluted*, and the *Covenant* directly *broke*. But in *Hezekiah's* Time when the People had renew'd their *Covenant* under that religious Prince, *Isaiab* speaks to them in a milder Style, and tells them which way they, even the most unlikely among them, either through their natural Incapacity as *Eunuchs*, or their moral ones as *Strangers*, and *Aliens from the Commonwealth of Israël*, might build lasting Houses for themselves, and be secure of the most signal Marks of the Favour of God. *Keeping the Sabbath from polluting it*, is here mention'd as one of the weightiest of God's Commandments, and yet more eminently in the following Words.

If. lviii. 13, 14. " If thou turn away thy Foot
 " from the SABBATH, from doing thy Pleasure on
 " my holy Day, and call the SABBATH a Delight,
 " the holy of the LORD, honourable, and shalt honour him,
 " NOT DOING THINE OWN WAYS, NOR
 " FINDING THINE OWN PLEASURE, NOR SPEAKING
 " THINE OWN WORDS: Then shalt thou delight thy
 " self in the LORD, and I will cause thee to ride up-
 " on the high Places of the Earth, and feed thee
 " with the Heritage of *Jacob* thy Father; for the
 " Mouth of the LORD hath spoken it.

Nothing can in more magnificent and solemn Words express the weight which was laid by God himself upon this Command, than what the Prophet here declares from the *Mouth of the Lord*. This justifies the utmost Strictness which the *Misnic Doctors* afterwards shew'd in their *Constitutions* which relate to the Observation of this Day: So that where there was neither *Superstition* nor *Knavery* in their Decisions, and where *Mercy did not come in competition with Sacrifice*, they were certainly not to blame.

If. lxvi. 23. " And it shall come to pass, that from
 " one New Moon to another, and from one Sabbath to
 " another,

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“ another, shall all Flesh come to worship before
“ me, saith the LORD.

This is certainly a Prophecy of *Jesus Christ*. The *Gentiles* are expressly nam'd (*ψ. 19.*) as Nations among which the *Glory of the Lord* shou'd be declared. The *Jewish* New Moons and Sabbaths are now abolish'd; but God has been constantly worshipp'd every SEVENTH Day in all Christian Churches, and that upon the first Day of the Week ever since the great *Pentecost*, *Acts ii.* when the Holy Ghost first fell upon the Apostles, and by inspiring them with the Gift of Tongues, enabled them to preach the Gospel of *Jesus Christ* in the most distant Regions of the Earth.

Hoseah ii. 11. “ I will also cause all her Mirth to
“ cease, her Feast Days, her New Moons, and her
“ Sabbaths, and all her solemn Feasts.

Hoseah was contemporary with *Isaiab*, and prophesy'd to *Israël* in *Jeroboam II.* Time, when *Isaiab* first began to prophesy to *Judah*. The *Israëlites* were then ripe for Destruction, and it fell upon the Men of that Generation to whom *Hoseah* prophesy'd. A signal Mark of that Destruction is given in these words, in which the Prophet threatens that all their *solemn Feasts* shou'd be taken away, *i. e.* that the Covenant which God had made with *Israël*, as well as *Juda*, shou'd be made void, and consequently that there shou'd be no longer any visible Worship of God in the Land.

Amos viii. 4—7. “ Hear this, O ye that swallow
“ up the Needy, even to make the Poor of the Land
“ to fail, saying, when will the *New Moon* be gone
“ that we may sell Corn, and the SABBATH, that we
“ may set forth Wheat, making the *Ephab* small,
“ and the *Shekel* great, and falsifying the Balances
“ by Deceit? That we may buy the Poor for Silver,
“ and the Needy for a pair of Shoes; yea and sell the
“ Refuse of the Wheat. The LORD hath sworn by

R

“ the

“ the Excellency of *Jacob*, surely I will never for-
 “ get any of their Works.

Amos lived at the same time with *Isaiab* and *Hoseah*, and prophesy'd against *Israël* and *Judah*, but chiefly against *Israël*. Here we see their Crimes. They observ'd the *Sabbath* so far as not to buy or sell upon that Day; but then they wanted to be rid of it, and of all their other *Festivals* (for the Case was the same of all of them, as to buying and selling; tho' only the *New Moons* are specify'd) that they might oppress the Poor, who were forc'd to buy Provisions to keep them from starving, and then they gave them scanty measure at an exorbitant Price. Their *Ephab* was too little, and their *Balances* false. Thus those that wanted Bread cou'd not buy it, without selling themselves for Slaves; and those that wanted a pair of Shoes were forced to pawn their Liberty before they cou'd procure them. No wonder if such observers of the *Sabbath* were an Abomination to the Lord. Those that wanted *Mercy* to such a degree, cou'd not expect to have their *Sacrifices* accepted. And it was to the Men of that Generation, that the Prophet used that famous expression, *I will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice* *, which is quoted by our Lord to the *Pharisees* in the very Case before us †.

Jerem. xvii. 19—27. “ Thus said the LORD un-
 “ to me, Go and stand in the Gate of the Children
 “ of the People, whereby the Kings of *Judah* come
 “ in, and by the which they go out, and in all the
 “ Gates of *Jerusalem*. And say unto them, Hear ye
 “ the word of the LORD, ye Kings of *Judah*, and all
 “ *Judah*, and all the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, that
 “ enter in by these Gates. Thus saith the LORD,
 “ Take heed to your selves, and BEAR NO BURTHEN

* *Hos.* vi. 6. † *Matt.* xii. 7.

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“ upon the SABBATH Day, nor bring it in by the
 “ Gates of *Jerusalem*. Neither CARRY FORTH a
 “ BURTHEN out of your Houses on the *Sabbath Day*;
 “ neither do ye any Work, but hallow ye the *Sab-*
 “ *bath Day* as I commanded your Fathers. But they
 “ obey’d not, neither inclin’d their Ear, but made
 “ their Neck stiff, that they might not hear, nor
 “ receive Instruction: And it shall come to pass, if
 “ ye diligently hearken unto me, saith the LORD,
 “ to BRING IN NO BURTHEN through the Gates
 “ of this City on the SABBATH Day, but hal-
 “ low the Sabbath Day, to do no work therein:
 “ Then shall there enter into the Gates of this City
 “ Kings and Princes sitting upon the Throne of *Da-*
 “ *vid*, riding in Chariots and on Horses, they and
 “ their Princes, the Men of *Judah*, and the Inhabi-
 “ tants of *Jerusalem*, and this City shall remain for
 “ ever. And they shall come from the Cities of *Ju-*
 “ *dah*, and from the Places about *Jerusalem*, and from
 “ the Land of *Benjamin*, and from the Plain, and
 “ from the Mountains, and from the *South*, bring-
 “ ing Burnt-offerings and Sacrifices, and Meat-offer-
 “ ings and Incense, and bringing Sacrifices of Praise
 “ unto the House of the LORD. But if you will not
 “ hearken unto me, to hallow the SABBATH Day,
 “ and NOT to BEAR a BURTHEN, even entering in at
 “ the Gates of *Jerusalem* on the SABBATH Day, then
 “ will I kindle a Fire in the Gates thereof, and it
 “ shall devour the Palaces of *Jerusalem*, and it shall
 “ not be quenched.

The Captivity was now approaching. The Kings
 of *Judah* endeavour’d by their Alliances with *Aegypt*
 to resist the *Chaldeans*, to whom the Lord had deter-
 min’d to deliver them. The Folly of that Design is
 expos’d by the Prophet above. (v. 5, 6, 7.) He here
 prescribes a Method how they may yet recover them-
 selves; that is, to observe the *Sabbath* as the Law
 directs, and as *Isaiah* had before explain’d it. Bear-

ing of *Burthens* is particularly mention'd, because it includes the rest. For there can be no buying or selling, at least no Delivery of Goods bought and sold, without *bearing and carrying of Burthens*. This justifies and illustrates those numerous *Laws about Removals* in the Titles *Shabbath* and *Eruvin*, excepting always what is there excepted in my Annotations upon those Laws.

Lament. i. 7. " The Adversaries saw her, and did mock at her *Sabbaths*.

Ibid. ii. 6. " The LORD hath caused the solemn Feasts and SABBATHS to be forgotten in *Zion*, and hath despised in the Indignation of his Anger the King and the Priest.

After what the Prophet had said in the foregoing words, it is no Wonder if the contempt which the *Chaldaeans* put upon the Sabbaths, and the absolute removal in *Jerusalem*, which was then in Ruins, of every Thing that related to the Service of the Sanctuary, are put here as Causes of the Prophets especial Lamentation.

Ezek. xx. 10—13. " Wherefore I caused them to go forth out of the Land of *Egypt*, and brought them into the Wilderness. And I gave them my Statutes, and shew'd them my Judgments; which if a Man do, he shall even live in them. Moreover also, I gave them my SABBATHS, to be a SIGN between me and them, that they might know that I am the LORD that sanctify them. But the House of *Israël* rebelled against me in the Wilderness: they walked not in my Statutes, and they despised my Judgments; which if a Man do, he shall even live in them; and my *Sabbaths* they greatly polluted: then I said I would pour out my Fury upon them in the Wilderness.

Ibid. 15, 16. " I lifted up my Hand unto them in the Wilderness, that I would not bring them in to the Land which I had given them, —because
2 " they

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“ they despised my *Judgments*, and walked not in my
 “ *Statutes*; but *polluted my Sabbaths*: for their Heart
 “ went after their Idols.

Ibid. 18—21. “ But I said unto their Children in
 “ the Wilderness, Walk ye not in the *Statutes* of
 “ your Fathers, neither observe their *Judgments*, nor
 “ defile your selves with their Idols; I am the LORD
 “ your God, walk in my *Statutes*, and keep my *Judg-*
 “ *ments*, and do them. And hallow my *Sabbaths*:
 “ and they shall be a Sign between me and you, that
 “ ye may know that I am the LORD your God. Not-
 “ withstanding the Children rebelled against me;
 “ they walked not in my *Statutes*, neither kept my
 “ *Judgments* to do them; which if a Man do he shall
 “ even live in them: they *polluted my Sabbaths*; then
 “ I said I wou’d pour out my Fury upon them, to
 “ accomplish my Anger against them in the Wilder-
 “ ness.

Ibid. 23, 24, 25. “ I lifted up mine Hand unto
 “ them also in the Wilderness, that I would scatter
 “ them among the Heathen, and disperse them thro’
 “ the Countries. Because they had not executed my
 “ *Judgments*, but had despised my *Statutes*, and had
 “ *polluted my Sabbaths*, and their Eyes were after
 “ their Fathers Idols. Wherefore I gave them also
 “ *Statutes* that were not good, and *Judgments* where-
 “ by they should not live.

Ezekiel was one of those who were carry’d into
Babylonia in *Jeconiah*’s Captivity. He was in that Coun-
 trey when he prophesied concerning *Judah* and *Jeru-*
salem. Many of his Prophecies, those of this Chap-
 ter in particular, were publish’d before the final De-
 struction under *Zedekiah*, when the holy City, and
 the House of the Lord were burnt to the Ground.
 Here he opens to the *Elders* of the Captivity, who came
 to enquire by him of the Lord, the Causes of their
 Ruin, and the only way by which they cou’d retrieve
 themselves. This he do’s by a Historical Deduction

of the Methods of God's dealing with their Forefathers, from the Time when they were Bondmen in the Land of *Aegypt*. He tells them, that when they were brought into the Wilderness he gave them his *Sabbaths*, which they *polluted*, *i. e.* upon that Day which was a *Sign* between the LORD and them, they offer'd Sacrifices to Idols. That is the reason why that expression is so often repeated in this Chapter; for therein truly lay the flagitiousness of their Offence, in committing Idolatrous Acts on the very Day which was a *Sign of the Covenant* between God and them. Therefore it is that he repeats the words which the Lord us'd *Exod. xxxi. 13.* *That the Sabbath was a Sign between the LORD and them, that they might know that he was the LORD their God.*

Here I would observe one Thing from this Discourse of *Ezekiel's*, which is of moment towards determining the Controversies among Christians concerning the validity of the Abrogation of the *Jewish Sabbath*, which is, That in the distinction which the Prophet makes of *Statutes and Judgments*, *which if a Man do he shall even live in them*; and *Statutes which were not good, and Judgments whereby they could not live*, he always joins the *Sabbaths* to the former of these. They were in God's Account so far from being burthensome, that *they*, *Circumcision*, and the *Passover*, were *Signs of the Covenant* that was between God and them. Those therefore that have fancy'd that the *Mosaic Sabbath* was part of that *Yoke*, which as *St. Peter* says^a, *neither their Fathers nor they were able to bear*, are exceedingly mistaken. He wou'd not have used that Expression of an Ordinance, which was an immediate *Sign* of the divine *Covenant*. But then, as this reasoning of *Ezekiel's* shews that the *Sabbath* was set in the Balance by God himself against all the other

^a *Acts xv. 10.*

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Statutes and Judgments that God had given his People, and is therefore put by itself when they are nam'd collectively: So it shews likewise that the *Jewish Sabbath* was of course abrogated, when once *Jesus Christ*, who was the true *Antitype* of those numerous *Types*, in the old Law, was *sacrificed for us*. The *Covenant*, of which the *Sabbath* was the *Sign*, was then at an end. When *old things* were past, of necessity what is *new* must succeed in their Place.

I wou'd observe also, that the *Pollution* which those of the *House of Israël* who rebelled against the Lord in the *Wilderness*, were guilty of, *ψ. 13.* was the setting up the Golden Calf. He had given them *Statutes*, and shew'd them *Judgments* from *Exod. xx.* to the end of *Exod. xxiii.* and among them the *SABBATH*. The *Pollution* of their *Children*, mention'd *ψ. 21.* was that at *Baalpeor* when they ate the offerings of the Dead. The numerous and burthensome Laws specify'd in *Leviticus*, and confirm'd in *Deuteronomy*, were impos'd upon that People as a Punishment for these Idolatries. Many of them, were in Truth, *Statutes not* morally good, and *Judgments* whereby they cou'd not live.

Ezek. xxii. 7, 8. " In thee have they set light by
" Father and Mother: In the midst of thee have
" they dealt by Oppression with the Stranger: In
" thee have they vexed the Fatherless, and the Wi-
" dow. Thou hast despised mine holy Things, and
" hast profaned my *Sabbaths*.

The Prophet here in the Name of the Lord reckons the *Profanation* of the Sabbath to be, as it justly was, one of the great Crimes which hastned the Ruin of that City; and he reckons it with the most principal Duties of the second Table.

Ibid. 26. " Her Priests have violated my Law,
" and have profaned mine holy Things: they have
" put no difference between the holy and profane;
" neither have they shew'd difference between the

“unclean and the clean, and have hid their Eyes
 “from my *Sabbaths*, and I am profaned among
 “them.

The Accusation is here continu'd, and the SABBATH is join'd with the chiefest Commands relating to the Service of the Sanctuary: But nothing can more illustrate the Greatness of the Wrath of God upon this account, than what we have.

Ezek. xxiii. 38. “MOREOVER, this they have
 “done unto me; they have defiled my Sanctuary in
 “the same Day, and have profaned my *Sabbaths*.

For here under the Parable of the Lewdness of the two Sisters, *Abolab* and *Abolibab*, the wickednesses of *Samaria* and *Jerusalem* are set forth in the blackest Colours; and after reckoning up their Idolatry even in the cruelest Instances, namely, of offering their Children to *Moloch*, these Words are usher'd in with a MOREOVER, as an Aggravation to all that was said before. Idolatry is in itself a grievous Crime, and stain'd with Murther it is still worse; but the doing this on the SABBATH DAY (which was the peculiar Sign of the *Covenant* between God and them) was a yet more flagrant Act of Contempt against that very *Covenant*.

Ezek. xlv. 24. “In Controversy they shall stand
 “in Judgment, and they shall judge it according to
 “my Judgments; and they shall keep my Laws and
 “my Statutes in all mine Assemblies, and they shall
 “hallow my SABBATHS.

Here, and in some foregoing Chapters, *Ezekiel* foretels the re-establishment of the *Jewish* Worship, upon their return from *Babylon*; and in that he places the due Observation of the *Sabbath* among the chiefest Things.

Ezek. xlv. 17. “It shall be the Prince's part to
 “give Burnt-offerings, and Meat-offerings; and
 “Drink-offerings in the Feasts, and in the New
 “Moons,

“ Moons, and in the SABBATHS, in all Solemnities
“ of the House of *Israël*.

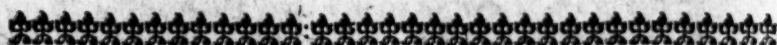
Ezek. xlii. 1, 3, 4. “ Thus saith the LORD God,
“ The Gate of the inner Court that looketh toward
“ the *East*, shall be shut the six working Days: but
“ on the SABBATH it shall be opened, and in the Day
“ of the New Moon it shall be opened—Likewise
“ the People of the Land shall worship at the Door
“ of this Gate before the LORD in the Sabbaths, and
“ in the New Moons. And the Burnt-offering that
“ the Prince shall offer unto the LORD in the SABBATH Day, shall be six Lambs without Blemish,
“ and a Ram without Blemish.

Ibid. 12. “ Now when the Prince shall prepare
“ a voluntary Burnt-offering, or Peace-offerings voluntarily unto the LORD, one shall then open him
“ the Gate that looketh toward the *East*, and he shall
“ prepare his Burnt-offering, and his Peace-offerings,
“ as he did on the SABBATH Day: then he shall go
“ forth, and after his going forth one shall shut the
“ Gate.

The same Ideas are pursu'd here, that we had before in the fourty fourth Chapter.

Psalms xcii. The Title of this *Psalms* in our Bibles, is a *Psalms* or Song for the Sabbath Day. The *Chaldee* Paraphrast tells us, That *Adam* made it for a Sabbath-Day-Song of Praise to his Creator. This shews that that Tradition is very ancient. Could it be made out, it wou'd be an unanswerable proof of the Observation of one Day in seven immediately after the Creation. The Thing indeed is to me certain, for the Reasons already mention'd, but I cannot think this *Psalms* to be so old as *Adam*. There are many Things in the *Psalms* itself which betray a much later Date. *Adam* knew nothing of Instruments of ten Strings, and *Psalteries*, and Harps, (§. 3.) unless we shou'd affirm that he liv'd till *Jubal's* time, who was of the late Posterity of *Cain*, and was the Father of all

all such as *hangle the Harp and Organ*^b. But *Jubal* was the sixth from *Cain*, and it is not likely that his Inventions were made use of for religious Purposes so early as whilst *Adam* liv'd. The Allusion to the *Cedars in Lebanon* (ψ. 12.) is wholly *Jewish*. The *House of the Lord*, and the *Courts of our God*, (ψ. 13.) demonstrate to me that this *Song* was made after the *Temple-Service* was instituted by *David* and *Solomon*; I say by *David*, because though he did not build the Temple, that Glory being reserv'd to his Son, yet he drew the Plan of the Temple-Service, and the Regulations which he made, as well as those made afterwards by *Solomon* were observ'd in future Ages. However, let the Age in which this *Psalms* was compos'd have been what it will, there is nothing in it which can bring it lower than the Captivity, for which Reason I plac'd it here.



CHAP. V.

*Texts relating to the Observation of the
SABBATH in the Old Testament, after
the Return of the Jews from Babylon.*

ESTHER i. 9, 10, 11. " Also *Vashti* the
E " Queen made a Feast for the Women in
" the Royal House, which belong'd to
" King *Abasuerus*. On the SEVENTH
" Day, when the Heart of the King was merry with

^b Gen. iv. 21.

“ Wine he commanded *Mebuman*——to bring *Vashti*
“ the Queen before the King.

That this was a nuptial Feast is certain; but whether it was when *Vashti* was first marry'd, or an Anniversary of her Wedding we know not: The Custom of celebrating Nuptials a Week together was ancient and general, as we have seen already^c. One sees from this History, that the Observation of *Weeks* was very far, and very early spread.

Nehem. ix. 14. “ And madest known unto them
“ thy holy SABBATH, and commandedst them Pre-
“ cepts, Statutes and Laws, by the Hand of *Moses*
“ thy Servant.

In the 20th Year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, about 90 Years after the Edict of *Cyrus* to send the *Jews* home out of *Babylon* into *Judaea*, *Nehemiah* was sent by *Artaxerxes* (whose Cup-bearer he was) with a Commission to build the Walls of *Jerusalem*, and to restore the *Jewish* Polity, which was at that Time miserably corrupted. Dr. *Prideaux* thinks with great Probability, that Queen *Esther*'s Interest (whom he supposes to have been the Wife of *Artaxerxes*) was the occasion of the great Favour which was shewn unto him. When he had in a great measure finish'd his Work, the People were call'd together to hear the Law read to them; and they anew entred into Covenant with the LORD to do according to all that was therein commanded; and among other Things when the *Levites* made a Confession of their Sins, and with that a short Recital of the Mercies which had been vouchsafed them by God, they acknowledg'd in the Language of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, warranted by God himself in the Book of *Exodus*, that he had given them his holy *Sabbath* to be a Sign of the Covenant which he made with them. Accor-

^c Vide supra Gen. xxix. 27, 28. and Judges xiv. 12, &c.

dingly we find in the next Chapter that Care was taken to observe that Day as it ought.

Nehem. x. 31. “ And if the People of the Land
“ bring Ware, or any Victuals on the *Sabbath* Day
“ to sell, that we wou’d not buy it of them on the
“ *Sabbath*, or on the holy Day.

Buying and Selling were undoubtedly forbidden upon those Days. That was in the most literal Sense *doing their own Works*.

Ibid. 32, 33. “ Also we made Ordinances for us,
“ to charge our selves yearly with the *third* part of
“ a *Shekel*, for the Service of the House of our God,
“ for the Shew-bread, and for the continual Meat-
“ offering, and for the continual Burnt-offering, of
“ the *Sabbaths*, of the New Moons, for the set Feasts,
“ and for the holy Things, and for the Sin-offerings,
“ to make an Atonement for *Israël*, and for all the
“ work of the House of our God.

Here the Sum is said to be the third part of a *Shekel*. The Sum appointed in the Law was half a *Shekel*^d: There is no doubt but it was the same Sum which is call’d *διδραχμῶν* by St. *Matthew* here^e. It is very likely that the *Shekel*, by which *Nehemiah* computed, was half as big again as the *Mosaic*. I know very well that some considerable Interpreters^f have imagin’d that it is the same *Jewish Shekel* which is meant both in *Exod. xxx* and here; and that *Nehemiah* lower’d the Tax because of the great Poverty of the People at that Time. But whoever reflects upon the ardent Zeal that this truly pious Governour shew’d for the Honour of God, and the great thinness of the People that were then in the Land; tho’ the stated Expence of the Temple-Service was much the same, whether the People were numerous or not, will, I think, hardly believe that *Nehemiah* would

^d *Exod. xxx. 12, 13, 14.*
in locum.

^e *Matth. xvii. 24.*

^f *Clericus*

venture to lessen a Tax, in it self not grievous, which was so directly and explicitly commanded in the Law of God. That it was brought to the original Height in our Saviour's Time is evident. *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, who went together in the Regulations then made, were not Men who in any of their other Actions seem'd inclinable to break the Law, much less to teach others that it might be broken; or if they did it in this Case by reason of the pressing Necessities of a People newly return'd out of Captivity, it is not likely they would do it without taking notice that the Sum then enjoin'd to be paid, was less than what was directed to be paid in the Law of *Moses*.

Nehem. xiii. 15—22. “ In those Days saw I in
 “ *Judah* some treading Wine-Presses on the Sab-
 “ bath, and bringing in Sheaves, and lading Asses;
 “ as also Wine, Grapes and Figs, and all manner of
 “ Burthens, which they brought into *Jerusalem* on
 “ the *Sabbath* Day: and I testify'd against them in the
 “ Day wherein they sold Victuals. There dwelt Men
 “ of *Tyre* also therein, which brought Fish, and all
 “ manner of Ware, and sold on the *Sabbath* unto
 “ the Children of *Judah*, and in *Jerusalem*. Then I
 “ contended with the Nobles of *Judah*, and said un-
 “ to them, What evil Thing is this that ye do, and
 “ profane the *Sabbath* Day. Did not your Fathers
 “ thus, and did not our God bring all this Evil upon
 “ us, and upon this City? Yet ye bring more Wrath
 “ upon *Israel* by profaning the *Sabbath*: And it came
 “ to pass, that when the Gates of *Jerusalem* began
 “ to be dark before the *Sabbath*, I commanded that
 “ the Gates should be shut, and charged that they
 “ should not be opened till after the *Sabbath*. And
 “ some of my Servants set I at the Gates, that there
 “ should no Burden be brought in on the *Sabbath*
 “ Day, so the Merchants and Sellers of all kind of
 “ Ware, lodged without *Jerusalem* once or twice.
 “ Then

“ Then I testify’d against them, and said unto them,
 “ Why lodge ye about the Wall? If ye do so again,
 “ I will lay Hands on you. From that time forth
 “ came they no more on the Sabbath. And I com-
 “ manded the *Levites* that they should cleanse them-
 “ selves, and that they should come and keep the
 “ Gates, to sanctify the Sabbath Day. Remember
 “ me, O my God, concerning this also, and spare
 “ me, according to the greatness of thy Mercy.

We have here not only a noble Description of the Reformation which *Nebemiah* made in this matter, but we see what those ways generally were by which the Sabbath was violated at that Time. This Regulation, which was visibly made upon the Plan laid down in the xviith Chapter of *Jeremiah*, was the immediate Foundation of the *Misnic* Laws about *Removals*. Bearing of Burthens upon that Day was the chief Thing which *Jeremiah* complain’d of, as we have seen already. And to that Complaint of *Jeremiah*’s this pious Governour of *Judaea* here alludes.



CHAP. VI.

Passages out of the Apocryphal Writers, relating to the Observation of the SAB- BATH.

I  *S D R A S* i. 56, 57, 58. “ The People
 *E* “ that were not slain with the Sword,
 “ he [*Nebuchadnezzar*] carry’d into *Ba-*
 “ *bylon*; who became Servants to him
 “ and his Children, till the *Persian*’s reign’d, to ful-
 “ fil the word of the Lord, spoken by the Mouth of
 “ *Jeremy*. Until the Land had enjoyed her SAB-
 “ BATHS;

“ BATHS, the whole Time of her Desolation shall
“ she rest, until the full Term of Seventy Years.

One sees here, besides what is already quoted out of 2 *Chron.* xxxvi. 21. how exactly that Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, which has been already mention'd, was fulfill'd, and its completion taken notice of. The Threatning in *Leviticus*, and the subsequent Prophecy of *Jeremiah* being thus punctually fulfill'd, wou'd naturally lead these Exiles just come home, to a very careful Observation of all these Sabbatical Laws, those that related to *Years* as well as *Days*.

1 *Esd.* v. 51, 52. “ Also they held the Feast of
“ Tabernacles, as it is commanded in the Law, and
“ offered Sacrifices daily, as it was meet. And after
“ that the continual Oblations, and the Sacrifice of
“ the *Sabbaths*, and of the New Moons, and of all
“ holy Feasts.

This was done in *Zerubbabel's* Time, just upon their return from *Babylon*, when we may be sure that they would be more than ordinarily zealous in obeying the Injunctions of the Law of *Moses*, as far as in their present Circumstances they cou'd possibly do it.

Judith viii. 6. “ And she fasted all the Days of
“ her Widowhood, save the *Eves of the Sabbaths*,
“ and the *Sabbaths*, and the Eves of the New Moons,
“ and the New Moons, and the Feasts, and the solemn
“ Days of the House of *Israël*.

It is very much question'd by many learned Men, whether the History of *Judith* be real or fictitious. Dr. *Prideaux* (who places it in the latter end of the Reign of *Manasseh*, about 50 Years before the Captivity of *Jeconiah*, from whence the seventy Years must be reckon'd) has said all that can be said in its Vindication. To our purpose it is all one whether the Story be true or false. The Historian's Design was to describe *Judith* as a very religious Woman, and since the solemn keeping the *Sabbatic Feast* was a necessary Qualification to determine her such, that is brought

brought in here as part of her Character. This therefore occurs again,

Judith x. 2. “ She rose where she had fallen down,
“ and called her Maid, and went down into the
“ House, in the which she abode in the Sabbath
“ Days, and in her Feast Days.

1 *Maccab.* i. 39. “ Her Sanctuary was laid waste
“ as a Wilderness, her Feasts were turned into Mourn-
“ ing, her *Sabbaths* into Reproach, her Honour in-
“ to Contempt.

The miserable Condition of Religion among the
Jews under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, is here describ'd.
The pollution and profanation of the Sabbath are
plac'd among the principal parts of their Calamity,
both in this and the three following Verses.

Ibid. 43, 44, 45. “ Many also of the *Israëlites*
“ consented to his Religion, and sacrificed unto Idols,
“ and profaned the *Sabbath*. For the King had sent Let-
“ ters by Messengers unto *Jerusalem*, and the Cities
“ of *Judah*, that they should follow the strange Laws
“ of the Land. And forbid Burnt-offerings, and Sa-
“ crifice, and Drink-offerings in the Temple, and
“ that they should profane the *Sabbaths*, and Festival
“ Days.

1 *Maccab.* ii. 31—41. “ Now when it was told
“ the King's Servants, and the Host that was at *Je-*
“ *rusalem*, in the City of *David*, that certain Men
“ who had broken the King's Commandment were
“ gone down into the secret Places in the Wilder-
“ ness; they pursu'd after them a great Number,
“ and having overtaken them, they camped against
“ them, and made War against them on the Sab-
“ bath Day. And they said unto them, Let that
“ which you have done hitherto suffice: come forth
“ and do according to the Commandment of the
“ King, and you shall live. But they said, We will
“ not come forth, neither will we do the King's
“ Commandment, to profane the Sabbath Day. So
“ then

“ then they gave them the Battel with all speed.
 “ Howbeit they answer’d them not, neither cast they
 “ a Stone at them, nor stopped the Places where
 “ they lay hid. But said, Let us all die in our Inno-
 “ cency, Heaven and Earth shall testify for us, that
 “ you put us to Death wrongfully. So they rose up
 “ against them in Battel, on the SABBATH, and slew
 “ them, with their Wives, and Children, and Cat-
 “ tel, to the number of a thousand People. Now
 “ when *Mattathias* and his Friends understood hereof,
 “ they mourned for them right fore. And one of
 “ them said to another, If we all do as our Brethren
 “ have done, and fight not for our Lives and Laws
 “ against the Heathen, they will now quickly root
 “ us out of the Earth. At that Time therefore they
 “ decreed, saying, Whosoever shall come to make
 “ Battel with us on the *Sabbath Day*, we will fight
 “ against him, neither will we die all, as our Brethren
 “ that were murther’d in the secret Places.

The Judgment which *Mattathias* and his Friends
 made, concerning these Men who refus’d to fight up-
 on the *Sabbath Day*, was certainly right. The *Sab-
 bath* was instituted to be a weekly Day of solemn
 Worship, dedicated to God; that Worship, by our
Blessed Lord’s own Determination, was to give place
 to Things of indispensable Necessity, and such surely
 the defending a Man’s self against an Enemy that wou’d
 infallibly put him to Death, if not resisted, was:
 Mercy in that Case gave way to Sacrifice. We shall
 find in the *Misnic Constitutions*, that a Man might ap-
 pear abroad on the *Sabbath* with defensive Armour,
 such as a Coat of Mail, or an Helmet, without Sin^h.
 The Reason was good, because a Man might be struck
 unawaresⁱ. They disallow’d the wearing of offen-
 sive Weapons, because when we are not actually

^h Shabbath vi. 1.

ⁱ Ibid. vi. 4.

struck at, the using of them wou'd only shew a quarrellsome Temper, very improper at all times, but much more upon so solemn a Feast.

2 Macc. v. 24, 25, 26. "He sent also that detestable Ringleader *Apollonius*, with an Army of 22000, commanding him to slay all those that were in their best Age, and to sell the Women and the younger fort; who coming to *Jerusalem*, and pretending Peace, did forbear till the *holy Day of the Sabbath*, when taking the *Jews* keeping *holy Day*, he commanded his Men to arm themselves. And so he slew all them that were gone to the celebrating of the Sabbath, and running through the City with Weapons, slew great Multitudes.

The History of the same Time, written by two distinct Persons, is related in these two Books; therefore it is, That different Facts occur in both; the Massacre of these *Jews* upon the Sabbath Day that dwelt in *Jerusalem*, is different from that related above of those that dwelt in the Caves near *Modin*. This seems to have been before the former, as was also that mention'd in

2 Maccab. vi. 11. "And others that had run together into Caves near by, to keep the Sabbath Day secretly, being discover'd to *Philip*, were all burnt together, because they made a Conscience to help themselves, for the Honour of the most sacred Day.

It is plain that this was different from the other two: Those by *Modin* were risen against in Battel, these were burnt secretly; and besides, these Caves seem to have been near *Jerusalem*.

2 Macc. vi. 6. "Neither was it lawful for a Man to keep Sabbath Days, or ancient Feasts, or to profess himself at all to be a Jew.

This agrees with what the Author of the first Book says, 1 Macc. i. 39. which we have seen already.

2 Macc. viii. 25, 26, 27, 28. " And took their
 " Money that came to buy them, and pursued them
 " far: but lacking Time, they returned. For it was
 " the Day before the *Sabbath*, and therefore they
 " wou'd no longer pursue them. So when they had
 " gather'd their Armour together, and spoiled their
 " Enemies, they occupied themselves about the *Sab-*
 " *bath*, yielding exceeding Praise and Thanks to the
 " Lord, who had preserved them unto that Day,
 " which was the beginning of Mercy distilling upon
 " them. And after the *Sabbath*, when they had gi-
 " ven part of the Spoils to the maimed, and the Wi-
 " dows and the Orphans, the residue they divided a-
 " mong themselves and their Servants.

This was a different Case from the former. Tho'
 they might defend themselves when they were at-
 tack'd, yet there was no Necessity of pursuing on
 the *Sabbath Day* those that fled. We find in the
 next Text that *Judas Maccabaeus* observ'd the same
 Method against *Gorgias*, for when he had routed his
 Army,

2 Macc. xii. 38, 39. " *Judas* gather'd his Host,
 " and came into the City *Odollam*. And when the
 " seventh Day came, they purify'd themselves (as the
 " Custom was) and kept the *Sabbath* in the same
 " Place. And upon the Day following (as the use
 " had been) *Judas* and his Company came to take
 " up the Bodies of them that were slain, and to bury
 " them with their Kinsmen in their Father's Graves.

The Battel was fought upon the *Eve of the Sab-*
bath, they rested on the *Sabbath*, and the next Day
 they buried their Dead.

2 Mac. xv. 1—5. " *Nicanor* hearing that *Judas*
 " and his Company were in the strong Places about
 " *Samaria*, resolved, without any Danger, to set up-
 " on them on the *Sabbath Day*. Nevertheless the
 " *Jews* that were compelled to go with him, said,
 " O destroy not so cruelly and barbarously, but give

“ Honour to that Day, which he that seeth all
 “ Things, hath honoured with Holiness above other
 “ Days. Then the most ungracious Wretch demand-
 “ ed, if there were a mighty One in Heaven, that
 “ had commanded the *Sabbath Day* to be kept. And
 “ when they said, There is in Heaven a living Lord,
 “ and mighty, who commanded the *Seventh Day* to
 “ be kept. Then said the other, And I also am
 “ mighty upon Earth, and I command to take Arms,
 “ and to do the King’s Business.

Ibid. 25, 26, 27. “ Then *Nicanor* and they that
 “ were with him, came forward with Trumpets and
 “ Songs. But *Judas* and his Company encountred
 “ the Enemies with Invocation and Prayer. So that
 “ fighting with their Hands, and praying unto God
 “ with their Hearts, they slew no less than 35000
 “ Men; for thro’ the appearance of God they were
 “ greatly cheered.

Judas Maccabaeus, pursuant to the Decree made
 before by his Father *Mattathias*, fought here with
Nicanor, who fell upon him on the *Sabbath*, and de-
 feated and killed him.



C H A P. VII.

Some Passages out of Josephus relating to the Jewish Observation of the SABBATH, in, and after, the Time of the Maccabees.

JOSEPH H. *Antiq. Jud.* xii. 8 k. “ When
 “ he [Mattathias] had said this, he went
 “ with his Children into the Wilderness,
 “ leaving all his Possessions behind him in
 “ the Village [Modin.] Others also did the same
 “ Thing, and fled with their Wives and Children
 “ into the Wilderness, and lived in Caves. When
 “ the

k Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν μὲν τὸ τέκνον εἰς τὸ ἔρημον ἐξώρμησε, καὶ ἀλλο-
 πῶν ἅπαντας τὸ αὐτὸ κλῆσιν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ. Τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλοι ποιή-
 σαι τις μὲν τὸ τέκνον καὶ γυναικῶν ἔφυγον εἰς τὸ ἔρημον, ἐν ταῖς σπη-
 λαῖσις διῆσαν· ἀνύστασις δὲ ταῦτα οἱ βασιλεῖς τρυφήν, ἐν τῇ δύ-
 ναμιν ὅσῳ εἶναι συνέβαινεν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸ ἱεροσολύμων ἀνιστάσκει-
 τες εἰδὼς εἰς τὸ ἔρημον τὰς Ἰουδαίας. Καὶ καταλαβόντες, τὸ μὲν
 πρῶτον αὐτὰς ἐπιχέροντες πείθειν, μετὰ τοῦτο αἰρεῖσθαι τὰ συμφέρον-
 τα, ἐν μὴ προσέχουσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνίστασθαι, ὥστε αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι πολέμῳ
 νόμῳ. Μὴ προσδεχομένης δὲ τὰς λόφους, ἀλλὰ τὰν ἀνίστασθαι φρονήσας, συμ-
 βάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην καταβάτῳ ἡμέρῃ. Καὶ ὡς εἶχον ἕως ἐν
 ταῖς σπηλαῖσι αὐτὰς κατέφλεξαν, ὑδὲν ἀμυνόμενες, ἀλλ' ὑδὲ τὰς ἐν-
 δας ἐμφορῆσαι. Τῷ δὲ ἀμυνέσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπέχοντο, μὴ
 ἐν κατοῖς ὡραῖαις τὴν βαρβαρίαν τιμῶν διέλεσθαι. Ἀργεῖν δὲ
 ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῷ νόμῳ ἐστὶν ἀπέθανον μὲν ἐν τῷ γυναιξὶ ἐν τέκνοισι συμ-
 πνιγίντες ταῖς σπηλαῖσι, ὡς χίλιοι. Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀνιστάσθαι, τῇ
 Μαθθίᾳ προσέειπε, κακῆνοι ἀρχοῖτε ἀπιδεῖξαι. Ὁ δὲ ἐν καταβάτοις
 αὐτὰς εἰδὼς μαχίαν λίσσιν, ὡς εἰ μὴ ποιήσῃσι, τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχοντες
 τὸ νόμιμον, ἑαυτοῖς ἑσθὶν πολέμοι, καὶ μὴ ἔχοντες κατὰ δυνάμιν τὴν
 ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς προσεβάλλοντο, αὐτῶν δ' ἦν ἀμυνόμενοι. Καλοῦσιν τὴν
 S 3 μηδίαν,

“ the King’s Officers heard this, they brought toge-
 “ ther all their Forces that were in the Citadel of
 “ *Jerusalem*, and pursu’d after these *Jews* into the
 “ Wilderness. At first when they came up to them,
 “ they perswaded them to yield, and alter their Minds,
 “ and to choose what was for their Interest, and not
 “ to drive them to a Necessity of proceeding against
 “ them by the Law of Arms. When they would
 “ not agree to this, but persisted in the contrary
 “ Opinion, they fell upon them on the Sabbath Day,
 “ and burnt them when they were in their Caves,
 “ where they made no Resistance, and did not so
 “ much as shut up the Passages. For they refus’d to
 “ resist upon that Day, not being willing to disho-
 “ nour the Sabbath in their Distress; because our
 “ Law commands us to rest from Labour upon that
 “ Day. Thus about a thousand of them were smo-
 “ ther’d, with their Wives and Children, in these
 “ Caves. A great many that escap’d join’d with *Mat-
 “ tathias*, and declar’d him their General. He then
 “ directed them to fight upon the Sabbath Day, and
 “ told them, That if they observ’d the Law upon
 “ these occasions, they would be their own Enemies,
 “ because their Adversaries would fall upon them
 “ on that Day, when they made no Resistance; and
 “ then if they did not stop them, they would be all
 “ destroy’d without striking stroke. This Speech of
 “ his perswaded them, and it is a Law among us to
 “ this Day, to fight upon the *Sabbaths*, whenever
 “ Necessity requires.

This is the same Story which is related in 1 *Macc.*
 ii. with very little variation. What *Josephus* says of
 this Determination of *Mattathias*, (or as he calls him,

μηδὲν, ὅπως ἀμαχῇ πάντας δυνάμεας. Ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν, ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς,
 ὅτι ἂν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν παρ’ ἡμῶν ἡμεῖς ἐν Σαββάτῳ ποιεῖν μάχην.
 pag. 411. edit. Genev. D. E. F. G.

Matthias)

Matthias) continuing to his Time to be a settled Law among the *Jews*, may be plainly prov'd from the *Misnic* Constitutions in *Title Sabbath*, to which I shall refer my Reader.

Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xiii. c. 1. " When *Bacchides* understood that *Jonathan* was encamp'd in the Marshes of *Jordan*, he fell upon him in contempt of the Sabbath Day, as supposing that he would not engage upon that Day against the Law: But *Jonathan* encourag'd his Men, and told them, that they were in the utmost Danger, being enclos'd between the Enemy and the River, so that they could not run away. For the Enemy was before them, and the River behind; and so praying to God to give them the Victory, he engag'd the Enemy.

Jonathan acted here pursuant to the Constitution of *Mattathias*, as *Judas Maccabaeus* had done before, when he fought with *Nicanor*.

Joseph. de Bell. Jud. i. c. 5. m. " But it was a difficult Thing to fill [the Ditch] because of its exceeding Depth, and because the *Jews* from above hindred their Work all manner of ways. And the *Romans* must have given over their Undertaking, if *Pompey* had not observ'd that the *Jews* abstain'd

¹ Ὁ δὲ Βακχίδης γινῆς τὸ Ἰωνάθην ἐν τῇς ἑλισσι τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατεστρωτοποιδώμενος, ὡραφυλάξας τὴν τὴν Σαββάτων ἡμέραν, ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἦκεν ὡς ὁ μαχόμενος ἐκείνη ἡμέρα τὸ ἰόνον. Ὁ δὲ παρερμήσας τὰς ἐταίρους, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ψυχῶν αὐτοῖς εἶπαι τὸ κίνδυνον εἶπαι μίστοις ἀπειλημῶσις τῆς ποταμῶς ἐπὶ πολεμίων, ὡς φυγεῖν ἔκ ἔχουσιν οἱ μὴ γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπίεσαν, ὁ ποταμὸς δὲ ὡς κατέστιν αὐτῶν διέξαρτον ὃ καὶ τὴν θείαν νίκην αὐτοῖς ὡραχὴν συνάπτει τοῖς πολεμίοις. Pag. 418. E.

^m Χαλεποὶ δὲ ὡς τὸ ἀναπληρῆναι, ἀλλὰ βάθους ἀπειρον, ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίων πάντων τὸ ἔργον εἰργόντων ἀνῶθεν καὶ ἀτίλειτον ἔμενε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁ πόλεμος, εἰ μὴ τὰς ἑβδομάδας ἐπίληρων ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν αἷς πᾶσι τοῖς ἔρσι ἀλλὰ τὴν θρησκείαν χεῖρας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, τὸ χῶμα ὕψος, καὶ τὴν χεῖρα συνβολῆς εἶσαν τὰς σφαιρίδας ὑπὲρ μόνον γὰρ τὸν Ῥωμαίων, ἀμύνοντα ἐπὶ τοῖς Σαββάσι. Pag. 719. F.

“ from doing any Work every *seventh Day*, out of a
 “ Principle of Religion. He therefore on those Days
 “ rais’d his Bank, forbidding his Soldiers to make
 “ any Attack at that Time. For on the *Sabbath*
 “ Days the *Jews* make no Resistance unless where
 “ their Bodies are concern’d.

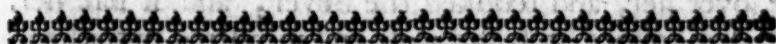
Tho’ the *Jews* observ’d the Constitution of *Mattathias* in Case of an Assault, when *Jerusalem* was besieg’d by *Pompey the Great*, yet they did not carry the License which he gave them far enough. For if it was lawful to preserve their Bodies from Violence when they were attack’d upon the Sabbath Day, it was for the same Reason certainly lawful to prevent their Enemies doing that upon that Day, which would soon after bring unavoidable Destruction upon them. When once *Pompey* had fill’d up the Ditch, it was an easy matter for him to take the Town, which he accordingly did soon after.

Joseph. de Bell. Jud. ii. 28 n. “ Consider like-
 “ wise how difficultly this immoderate Zeal of yours
 “ for your Religion can be manag’d, even tho’ you
 “ were to fight a Force that might be easily over-
 “ come; and that by those very Things by which
 “ you chiefly hope to obtain the divine Assistance,
 “ you will alienate him from you whose Laws you are
 “ compell’d to break. For if you keep the Sabbati-
 “ cal Laws, and make no Opposition, you will be
 “ easily taken, as your Ancestors were by *Pompey*;
 “ who made those very Days chiefly serviceable to
 “ him in his Siege, in which the besieg’d did nothing
 “ to oppose him.

“ Σκέψασθε ὅτι ὡς ὑμῖν τὸ τῆ θρησκείας ἀκρότης, οἱ ἔτι πρὸς ἐνχειρώ-
 τας πολιορκίῃς, δυσδιοίκητοι, καὶ δ’ αὖ μάλιστα τὸ θεῖον ἐλπίζετε Σύμμα-
 χον ταῦτα ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀρπαζάνειν ἀπερίφρονοι. Τηρῶντες μὲν γὰρ
 τὰ τῆ ἑβδομάδος ἔτη, καὶ πρὸς μηδεμίαν πρᾶξιν κινούμενοι, ῥαδίως ἀλώ-
 ντο. κατέπερ οἱ περὶ τοὺς Πομπηίου, ταύτας μάλιστα τὰς ἡμέρας
 ἐνεργὺς ποιησαμένων τῆ πολιορκίας, ἐν αἷς ἤρσαν οἱ πολιορκούμενοι. Pag.
 808. C.

This

This is part of a Speech which *Agrippa* made to the People of *Jerusalem*, in the Year of *Christ* *LXVI*, and of *Nero* the 12th or 13th, to pacify them when they were in an uproar upon Account of the Cruelties committed not long before by *Gessius Florus*, then Governour of *Judaea*. *Agrippa* labour'd to induce them to submit peaceably and quietly to the *Romans*, and to persuaue them by gentle Methods to endeavour to get their Grievances redrest, by shewing them how visibly God had appear'd for the *Romans*. Among other Arguments he uses this of their observing the Sabbatical Laws when *Pompey* besieg'd their City many Years before, and putting them in mind how little that Observation of theirs avail'd them.



CHAP. VIII.

Texts relating to the Observation of the Sabbath in the Writings of the Evangelists.

ATT H. viii. 14—16. “ And when Jesus was come into *Peter's* House, he saw his Wive's Mother laid, and sick of a Fever. And he touched her Hand, and the Fever left her, and she arose and ministred unto them. When the *Even* was come, they brought unto him many that were possessed with Devils: and he cast out the Spirits with his Word, and healed all that were sick.

Mark i. 29—34. “ And forthwith, when they were come out of the Synagogue, they entred into the House of *Simon* and *Andrew*, with *James* and
“ *John*.

“*John.* But *Simon's Wives Mother* lay sick of a
 “Fever, and anon they tell him of her. And he
 “came and took her by the Hand, and lift her up;
 “and immediately the Fever left her, and she mi-
 “nistred unto them. And at *Even*, when the Sun
 “did set, they brought unto him all that were di-
 “seased, and them that were possessed with Devils.
 “And all the City was gather'd together at the Door.
 “And he healed many that were sick of diverse Di-
 “seases, and cast out many Devils, and suffer'd not
 “the Devils to speak, because they knew him.

Luke iv. 38, 39, 40. “And he arose out of the
 “Synagogue, and entred into *Simon's House*, and
 “*Simon's Wives Mother* was taken with a great Fe-
 “ver; and they besought him for her. And he stood
 “over her, and rebuked the Fever, and it left her.
 “And immediately she arose and ministred unto them.
 “Now when the Sun was setting, all they that had
 “any sick with divers Diseases, brought them unto
 “him: and he laid his Hands on every one of them,
 “and healed them.

It appears from these words of *St. Mark* and *St. Luke*, that this Miracle was wrought upon the Sabbath, after the Service of the Day was over, some time before its going out. *St. Matthew* omits the mention of the Day of the Week, but that Circumstance being very material, it is supply'd by the other two. Our Lord wrought most of his Miracles on the Sabbath Day; he had many Reasons of doing so. The People then were met together; that gave his Doctrine the greater weight. He that could work as well as teach, shew'd that he taught as one having Authority, and not as the Scribes, who had not the Gift of Miracles which he had to give a Sanction to their Decisions. And he shew'd likewise by those Miracles, that he was Lord of the Sabbath. He healed *Peter's Mother-in-Law* on the Sabbath; and the infirm People were brought after it was dark, as the

Misna

Misna speaks, to shew that they would not break the Sabbath°. This was soon after he entred upon his Ministry, and they did not so well know then as they did afterwards, that he would have heal'd them, if they had come before. They chose therefore to observe the Law, and at the same Time shew'd the liveliness of their Faith, by their Desire of reaping the Benefit of the Goodness and Power of *Jesus Christ* as soon as they could. He heal'd *Simon Peter's* Wives Mother before the Sabbath went out, when none but themselves were by; the *Pharisees* therefore could not take offence. And the Letter of the Law was punctually observ'd for the rest: That is the true Reason why that appearingly little Circumstance is thus minutely set down.

Matth. xii. 1—8. “ At that Time *Jesus* went on
 “ the Sabbath Day through the Corn, and his Disci-
 “ ples were an hungred, and began to pluck the Ears
 “ of Corn, and to eat. But when the *Pharisees* saw
 “ it, they said unto him, Behold, thy Disciples do
 “ that which is not lawful to do upon the Sabbath
 “ Day. But he said unto them, Have ye not read
 “ what *David* did when he was an hungred, and
 “ they that were with him; How he entred into
 “ the House of God, and did eat the *Shew Bread*,
 “ which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for
 “ them which were with him, but only for the
 “ Priests. Or have ye not read in the Law, how
 “ that on the Sabbath Days the Priests in the Tem-
 “ ple profane the Sabbath, and are blameless. But I
 “ say unto you, that in this Place is one greater than
 “ the Temple. But if ye had known what this
 “ meaneth, *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*, ye

° Dr Lightfoot was the first that I have met with that observed this; from him Dr. Whitby, and F. Lamy take notice of the same Thing.

“ would not have condemned the Guiltless. For the
 “ Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath Day.

Mark ii. 23—28. “ And it came to pass that he
 “ went through the Corn-Fields on the Sabbath Day,
 “ and his Disciples began as they went to pluck the
 “ Ears of Corn. And the *Pharisees* said unto him,
 “ Behold, why do they on the Sabbath Day that
 “ which is not lawful? And he said unto them, Have
 “ ye never read what *David* did when he had need,
 “ and was an hungred, he and they that were with
 “ him? How he went into the House of God in the
 “ Days of *Abiathar* the High Priest, and did eat the
 “ *Shew Bread*, which is not lawful to eat but for the
 “ Priests, and gave also to them which were with
 “ him? And he said unto them, The Sabbath was
 “ made for Man, and not Man for the Sabbath :
 “ Therefore the Son of Man is Lord also of the
 “ Sabbath.

Luke vi. 1—5. “ And it came to pass on the *se-*
 “ *cond Sabbath after the first*, that he went through
 “ the Corn-Fields: and his Disciples plucked the
 “ Ears of Corn, and did eat, rubbing them in their
 “ Hands. And certain of the *Pharisees* said unto
 “ them, Why do ye that which is not lawful to do
 “ on the Sabbath Days? And *Jesus* answering them,
 “ said, Have ye not read so much as this, what *Da-*
 “ *vid* did when he was an hungred, and they which
 “ were with him: How he went into the House of
 “ God, and did take and eat the *Shew Bread*, and
 “ gave also to them that were with him, which is
 “ not lawful to eat but for the Priests alone? And
 “ he said unto them, That the Son of Man is Lord
 “ also of the Sabbath.

The *Sabbath* in which the Disciples pluck'd these
 Ears of Corn, is here call'd by St. *Luke* *δὲ δευτέρῳ σαββάτῳ*,
 which the *vulgar Latin* renders *Secundo-primum*, which
 is literal and right. We translate it, the *second Sab-*
bath after the first, which is directly wrong; for it
 should

should have been the first Sabbath after the second Day of the Passover. On the 14th of Nisan the Passover was kill'd; the next Day (the 15th) was the first Day of the Feast of unleavened Bread; the Day following (the 16th) the Wave-Sheaf was offer'd, pursuant to the Law, on the morrow after the Sabbath^p. The Sabbath here is not the seventh Day of the Week; but the first Day of the Feast of unleavened Bread; let it fall on what Day of the Week it would. That and the seventh Day of that Feast were holy Convocations; and therefore are here call'd Sabbaths. The morrow therefore after the Sabbath, i. e. after the 16th Day of Nisan, was the Day in which the Wave-Sheaf was offer'd; and after that seven Sabbaths were counted; and 50 Days compleated, and the 50th Day inclusively, was the Day of Pentecost. Now these Sabbaths between the Passover and Pentecost, were call'd the first, the second, &c. Sabbaths after the second Day of the Feast of unleavened Bread. This Sabbath then on which the Disciples pluck'd the Ears of Corn, was the first Sabbath after that second Day. Dr. Lightfoot^q has demonstrably prov'd this to be the meaning of this *ἡμέραν ἀπαρχῆς*, and from him F. Lamy and Dr. Whitby have so explain'd it. This Sabbath could not fall before the Passover, because till the second Day of that Feast no Jew might eat either Bread or parched Corn, or green Ears^r. Had the Disciples then gather'd these Ears of Corn on any Sabbath before the Passover, they would have broken two Laws instead of one, and for the Breach of those two Laws they would infallibly have been accus'd. Whereas now they broke only one (plucking the Ears of standing Corn with one's Hand, being expressly allow'd in the Law^s) which was that of the Sabbath.

^p *Levit.* xxiii. 11.
xxiii. 14.

^q *Hor. Hebraic.* in locum.

^r *Deuter.* xxiii. 25.

^s *Levit.*

They

They took a Liberty which the Law gave them upon any other Day; and our Lord vindicated them in what they did now, in the manner we see. Nor can this Fact be laid after *Pentecost*, because then the Harvest was fully in. Within that Interval therefore, this *Sabbath* happen'd; and this is a plain Determination of the Time according to the *Jewish* ways of Reckoning, founded upon the Text of *Moses's* Law itself.

Now in order to pass a right Judgment upon this whole Affair, we are to consider, I. That *plucking Ears of Corn* was a sort of *Reaping*, in the Language of the Elders; and consequently esteem'd as one of the *prohibited Works* which might not be done upon the Sabbath Day. The forbidding of all servile Works in *Eating time* and *Harvest* justify'd this Prohibition. There is therefore no Question but the Disciples broke the Sabbath. II. That our Saviour do's not deny this, but offers four Things in their Defence.

1. *David's Example*, who ate the Shew Bread at *Nob*, (though none but the Priests might eat it) and that either upon the Sabbath, or immediately after. Most probably upon the Sabbath Day, because then the Argument was so much the stronger: For the Shew Bread was constantly shifted upon that Day; and since it was so holy that none but the Priests might eat it, they were bound to eat it as soon as they could; and it was then a Week old, and would not keep much longer. For we are not to suppose that *Abimelech* (or his Son *Abiathar*) gave *David* the Bread that was actually upon the Table, (for that is not said in the Text) but that which was taken off, which none might lawfully eat besides the Priests.

2. The practice of the Priests, who did all servile Works that were necessary for the Service of the Sanctuary upon the Sabbath without any Impeach-

† *Shabbath* vii. 2. † *Exod.* xxxiv. 21. † *Levit.* xxiv. 8, 9.

ment*. 3. That the Sabbath was made for Man, that he might serve God, and also rest from bodily Labour, not that he should want Food when he was an hungry and might come at it, which would have been very absurd upon a Feast Day. 4. He then goes farther, and tells the *Pharisees* that the Sabbath was his own Institution; and since he first commanded it to be observ'd, he could dispense with its Observati-on, whensoever he saw convenient.

Matth. xii. 9—14. “And when he was depart-
“ed thence, he went into their Synagogue. And
“behold there was a Man which had his Hand wi-
“ther'd: and they asked him, saying, Is it lawful to
“heal on the Sabbath Days? That they might ac-
“cuse him. And he said unto them, What Man
“shall there be among you that shall have one Sheep,
“and if it fall into a Pit on the Sabbath Day, will
“he not lay hold on it and lift it out? How much
“then is a Man better than a Sheep? Wherefore it
“is lawful to do well on the Sabbath Days. Then
“saith he to the Man, Stretch forth thine Hand:
“and he stretched it forth: and it was restored
“whole, like as the other. Then the *Pharisees*
“went out and held a Council against him, how
“they might destroy him.

Mark iii. 1—6. “And he entred again into the
“Synagogue, and there was a Man there which had
“a wither'd Hand. And they watched him, whe-
“ther he would heal him on the Sabbath Day, that
“they might accuse him. And he saith unto the
“Man which had the wither'd Hand, Stand forth.
“And he saith unto them, Is it lawful to do good
“on the Sabbath Days, or to do evil? To save life,
“or to kill? But they held their Peace. And when
“he had looked round about on them, with Anger,

might put Cloths or Scarves under the Arm, and might
it not be choiced with the Right Hand? which is the prin-
* *Eruvin* x. 13, 14, 15: “being

“ being grieved for the hardness of their Hearts, he
 “ saith unto the Man, Stretch forth thine Hand.
 “ And he stretched it out; and his Hand was resto-
 “ red whole as the other. And the *Pharisees* went
 “ forth, and straightway took Counsel with the *He-*
 “ *rodians* against him, how they might destroy him.

Luke vi. 6—11. “ And it came to pass also on
 “ another Sabbath, that he entred into the Syna-
 “ gogue and taught: And there was a Man whose
 “ right Hand was wither'd. And the *Scribes* and
 “ *Pharisees* watched him, whether he would heal on
 “ the Sabbath Day, that they might find an Accusa-
 “ tion against him. But he knew their Thoughts,
 “ and said to the Man which had the wither'd Hand,
 “ Rise up, and stand forth in the mids. And he a-
 “ rose, and stood forth. Then said *Jesus* unto them,
 “ I will ask you one Thing, Is it lawful on the Sab-
 “ bath Days to do good, or to do evil? To save
 “ Life, or to destroy it? And looking round about
 “ upon them all, he said unto the Man, Stretch forth
 “ thy Hand. And he did so: and his Hand was re-
 “ stored whole as the other. And they were filled
 “ with Madness, and communed one with another
 “ what they might do to *Jesus*.

This Miracle was not wrought upon the same Sab-
 bath on which the Disciples plucked the Ears of Corn.
 But since it is related by these three Evangelists im-
 mediately after the former, it is very probable that it
 was done soon after. Our Saviour here in his urging
 their Practice when a Beast fell into a Ditch or Pit,
 appeals to what is still preserv'd to us out of the an-
 cient Ritualists by *Maimonides* in *Hilcoth Shabbath*.
 In the *English* Version it is *lift it out*, but the *Greek*
 is only *ῥύψαι*, i. e. *raise it up*. The Masters direct,
 that if a Beast falls into a Pit on the Sabbath, they
 might put Cloths or Straw under it *to raise it up*, that
 it might not be choaked with the Mud, and might
 also be enabled to get out of itself, which is the plain
 meaning

meaning of the Greek Word γ. To this our Lord unquestionably refers. And this puts the Hypocrisy of the Scribes and Pharisees still in a more flagrant Light, especially if we take this along with us, that in this Cure Jesus Christ did not literally break the Sabbath; so that in Truth they had no Pretence of complaint. All that he did was to bid the Man who had the wither'd Hand, stretch it out. The Man obey'd him. The Miracle thus wrought was effected without breaking any Sabbatic Law, written or traditionary. It was not unlawful for our Lord, or for any Man else, to bid this impotent Man stretch out his Hand upon the Sabbath Day, nor was it unlawful for the Man to stretch it out, when he was miraculously enabled to do it. But by the Questions which our Saviour then put, he shew'd the Vileness of their Hypocrisy, in those Canons of theirs, then generally known, some of which are still preserv'd in the *Misna* *. They plainly saw that he disown'd their Authority, and the Miracles which they saw him work, shew'd them that his Power was superior to theirs. The Fear of losing that Power of theirs, which they saw must of necessity daily diminish, if the Preaching and Miracles of Jesus Christ were not stop'd, blinded their Eyes, that they could not see the Truth.

Matth. xxiv. 20. "Pray ye that your Flight be not in the Winter, neither on the Sabbath Day."

Because on the Sabbath they might be streightned, and could not fly far enough. Our Lord had not yet acquainted them with the future Abolition of the Jewish Sabbath, which was still in full force, and therefore mentions it in this Place.

Mark xv. 42. "And now when the Even was come (because it was the Preparation, that is the Day before the Sabbath) Joseph of Arimathea

* Lightfoot in locum. * Sabbath xxiii. 6. Luke

Luke xxiii. 52—56. “Went unto *Pilate*, and
 “begged the Body of *Jesus*, and he took it down,
 “and wrapped it in Linen, and laid it in a Se-
 “pulchre that was hewn in Stone, wherein ne-
 “ver Man before was laid. And that Day was the
 “*Preparation*, and the Sabbath drew on. And the
 “Women also which came with him from *Galilee*,
 “follow’d after, and beheld the Sepulchre, and how
 “his Body was laid. And they returned and prepa-
 “red Spices and Ointments; and rested the *Sabbath*
 “Day, according to the Commandment.

John xix. 31. “The *Jews* therefore, because it
 “was the *Preparation*, that the Bodies should not re-
 “main upon the Cross on the Sabbath Day (for that
 “Sabbath Day was an high Day) besought *Pilate*
 “that their Legs might be broken, and that they
 “might be taken away.

Ibid. 38—42. “And *Joseph* of *Arimathea*——
 “besought *Pilate* that he might take away the Body
 “of *Jesus*, and *Pilate* gave him leave; he came there-
 “fore and took the Body of *Jesus*. And there came
 “also *Nicodemus* (which at the first came to *Jesus*
 “by Night) and brought a mixture of Myrrhe and
 “Aloes, about an hundred Pound weight. Then took
 “they the Body of *Jesus*, and wound it in Linen
 “Cloths, with the Spices, as the manner of the *Jews*
 “is to bury. Now in the Place where he was cruci-
 “fy’d there was a Garden, and in the Garden a new
 “Sepulchre, wherein was never Man yet laid. There
 “laid they *Jesus* therefore, because of the *Jews* *Pre-*
 “*paration* Day, for the Sepulchre was nigh at Hand.

This Sabbath was more than ordinarily holy, and
 as *St. John* calls it, an high Day, it being both the
 weekly Sabbath, and the first holy Convocation of the
Passover. The *Preparation* began at the ninth Hour,
 when our Lord gave up the Ghost. Then the *Jews*
 lighted their Fires, and did what they had to do for the
 next Day. The Soldiers therefore desir’d they might
 then

then take the Body from the Cross, that he might be bury'd before the Sabbath began, and they did so. In the remaining Time, which was full three Hours, *Joseph of Arimathea* and *Nicodemus* got Spices and Linen, and wrapt up the Body, and laid it in the Sepulchre. The Circumstances are thus particularly recorded, to shew that they did not break the Law. And we may judge of their Importance too, because they are so minutely recorded.

Matth. xxvii. 52—56. “ Now the next Day that
“ followed the Day of the Preparation, the chief
“ Priests and *Pharisees* came together unto *Pilate*,
“ saying, Sir, we remember that that Deceiver said,
“ while he was yet alive, After three Days I will
“ rise again. Command therefore that the Sepul-
“ chre be made sure until the third Day, lest his Di-
“ sciples come by Night and steal him away, and say
“ unto the People, He is risen from the Dead. So
“ the last Error shall be worse than the first. *Pilate*
“ said unto them, Ye have a Watch, go your way,
“ make it as sure as you can. So they went, and
“ made the Sepulchre sure, sealing the Stone, and
“ setting a Watch.

The Evangelist do's not call this Day on which the chief Priests and *Pharisees* went to *Pilate*, *the Sabbath*, but *the Day after the Preparation*; tho' it was known to be the greatest *Sabbath* of the whole Year, to shew the execrable Villany of these hypocritical Wretches, who were so fearful of contracting any legal Pollution the *Day before*, lest they should be incapable of eating the Passover; and yet this Day, even the Day after this solemn Preparation, they broke the Sabbath in three most flagrant Instances. I. They went to a *Gentile* to ask a Favour, in itself not *Sabbatical*, nor any ways relating to the Feast, which was to allow them a Guard to watch the Sepulchre. II. They themselves set these Soldiers to guard it. III. They actually seal'd it up. To a Man who considers the

Ideas of the Jews at that Time, which are amply describ'd in the *Titles* of the *Misna* here printed; this will not appear to be the least astonishing Instance of their Malice and Knavery, with relation to their Observation of the Sabbath, when they apprehended a Necessity; and that too a Necessity the least justifiable, that any People cou'd possibly ever pretend. They who if their Houses were on Fire wou'd not attempt themselves to quench them^a, cou'd here go to a *Gentile*, with whom they could not converse without contracting Pollution, could carry the Watch to the Sepulchre (or at least command it to be carry'd) and then could seal it up upon a Sabbath Day. The *Pharisees* were concern'd in this as well as the chief Priests, who in all probability were *Sadducees*^b; so that these Zealots for the Law, Men that profess to live after the straitest Sect of their Religion, could do all this in the Case before us^c.

Matth. xxviii. 1. "In the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn towards the first Day of the Week, came Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the Sepulchre.

Mark xvi. 1, 2. "And when the Sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene, and Mary the Mother of James, and Salome had bought sweet Spices, that they might come and anoint him. And very early in the Morning, the first Day of the Week, they came unto the Sepulchre at the rising of the Sun.

^a See Shabbath cap. xvi. ^b Acts iv. 1.
"Cur autem Sabbatum illud sic per Periphrasim Evangelista notet; alii dicunt id factum, quia non erat Sabbatum ordinarium, sed in illud incidebat dies magna Azymorum; sed cur non nominasset istam Diem? Ni mea me fallat conjectura, credo Evangelistam oblique taxare Sacerdotes & Phariseos, qui quamvis transactum esset Tempus Parasceves, & jam Dies sequens advenisset, atramen ipsi adeundo Gentilem profanaverint Religionem Sabbati. *Lami Concord. Evang. lib. v. cap. 37. pag. 605, 606.*

Luke

Luke xxiv. 1. " Now upon the first Day of the Week, very early in the Morning, they came unto the Sepulchre, bringing the Spices which they had prepared, and certain others with them.

John xx. 1. " The first Day of the Week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the Sepulchre, and seeth the Stone taken away from the Sepulchre.

The Night after the Sabbath the Jews call the going out of the Sabbath, which is what is here call'd its End. Thus the whole Night of the first Day of the Week is hereby taken in. It is plain, that these Women did not come to the Sepulchre till towards Day-break. I need not repeat what has been said already in its proper Place, that the Sabbath went out, and was entirely ended when once the Stars appear'd. The Phrase otherwise might mislead an English Reader, who might think the Sabbath lasted till Midnight, which it did not. But though they did not come to the Sepulchre till towards Morning, they went and bought their Spices and Oyntments as soon as ever the Sabbath was over. What we render the first Day of the Week, all the four Evangelists call *μία ἡμέρα*, i. e. one Day of or after the Sabbath. They are call'd Sabbaths, in the plural Number, because two Sabbaths, the weekly and the paschal, met upon the same Day. One stands for first here, *μία* for *ἡμέρα* is a Hebraism. The same word (*Echad*) signifies one and first in the Hebrew Language. This is a Phrase of the like import with *ἡμέρα ἡ πρώτη μετὰ τὴν δεύτεραν*, the first after the second. For as every weekly Sabbath denominated all the subsequent Days of the Week in their Order, first, second, third, fourth, and so on after the Sabbath, till the next Sabbath came; so the second Day after the Passover denominated the subsequent Sabbaths in their Order, first, second, third, fourth Sabbaths, and so on to the seventh, which was the Sabbath just preceding the Day of Pentecost.

I chose to mention this here, because it gives Light to what I said before of the *Σαββατικὴν Διδασκαλίαν*, without interrupting the Order of the Texts; and I was willing to put all the Texts relating to the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord, at the end of what I had to produce out of St. *Matthew*, that they might appear in a fuller Light.

Mark i. 21—28. “ And they went into *Capernaum*, and straightway on the *Sabbath Day* he entered into the Synagogue and taught. And they were astonished at his Doctrine: for he taught them as one that had Authority, and not as the Scribes. And there was in their Synagogue a Man with an unclean Spirit, and he cry'd out saying, Let us alone, what have we to do with thee, thou *Jesus of Nazareth*? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art, the holy one of God. And *Jesus* rebuked him, saying, Hold thy Peace, and come out of him. And when the unclean Spirit had torn him, and cry'd with a loud Voice, he came out of him. And they were all amazed, insomuch that they questioned among themselves, saying, What Thing is this? What new Doctrine is this? For with Authority commandeth he even the unclean Spirits, and they do obey him. And immediately his Fame spread abroad throughout all the Region round about *Galilee*.

Luke iv. 31—37. “ And [*Jesus*] came down to *Capernaum*, a City of *Galilee*, and taught them on the Sabbath Days. And they were astonished at his Doctrine, for his Word was with Power. And in the Synagogue there was a Man which had a Spirit of an unclean Devil, and cry'd out with a loud Voice, saying, Let us alone; what have we to do with thee, thou *Jesus of Nazareth*? Art thou come to destroy us? I know thee who thou art; the holy one of God. And *Jesus* rebuked him, saying,

“ saying, Hold thy Peace, and come out of him.
 “ And when the Devil had thrown him in the mids,
 “ he came out of him, and hurt him not. And they
 “ were all amazed, and spake among themselves, say-
 “ ing, What a Word is this? For with Authority
 “ and Power he commandeth the unclean Spirits,
 “ and they come out. And the Fame of him went
 “ out into every Place of the Countrey round a-
 “ bout.

This is one of the first Miracles of healing that we know of, that was publickly wrought by our Saviour on the Sabbath Day. We find no Opposition rais'd up on this Account against him, either perhaps because there were no *Pharisees* at that Time in the Synagogue, or rather, as I apprehend, because this Demoniac was a dangerous Person, who had created them much Disturbance, and possibly might have done some of them harm; so that they were glad to have him healed immediately, for the same Reason that they killed noisom Beasts on the *Sabbath Day*, when they apprehended any Danger from them. For that was expressly allow'd in the *Misna*, when they could not otherwise safely get rid of them. And besides here was no Law broke, for what he did was with his bare Word, which the more surprized them.

Mark vi. 1, 2. “ And he went out from thence,
 “ and came into his own Countrey, and his Disci-
 “ ples follow him. And when the SABBATH Day
 “ was come, he began to teach in the Synagogue,
 “ and many hearing him were astonished, saying,
 “ From whence hath this Man these Things? And
 “ what Wisdom is this which is given unto him,
 “ that even such mighty Works are wrought by his
 “ Hands?

Luke iv. 16—21. “ And he came to Nazareth
 “ where he had been brought up, and, as his Custom
 “ was, he went into the Synagogue on the Sabbath

“ Day, and stood up for to read. And there was
 “ delivered unto him the Book of the Prophet *Esaïas*;
 “ and when he had opened the Book, he found the
 “ Place where it was written, *The Spirit of the Lord*
 “ *is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach*
 “ *the Gospel to the poor, he hath sent me to heal the*
 “ *broken hearted, to preach Deliverance to the Cap-*
 “ *tives, and recovering of sight to the Blind, to set at li-*
 “ *berty them that are bruised. To preach the accepta-*
 “ *ble Year of the Lord.* And he closed the Book, and
 “ he gave it again to the Minister, and sat down;
 “ and the Eyes of all them that were in the Syna-
 “ gogue were fastened on him. And he began to say
 “ unto them, This Day is this Scripture fulfilled in
 “ your Ears.

It is plain from these and many other Places, that
 our Lord constantly frequented the publick Worship
 upon the *Sabbath*. We have here also a most au-
 thentick Account of the manner of reading and in-
 terpreting Scripture in the publick Assemblies of the
Jews at that Time. Dr. *Lightfoot*^d seems to think
 that our Blessed Lord read the *Haphtara*, or Lesson
 out of the Prophets for the Day; which if so, was
 still a more forcible Motive for these his Countrey-
 men of *Nazareth*, who had never heard him preach
 before, to attend to what he said.

Luke xiii. 10—17. “ And he was teaching in one
 “ of the Synagogues on the *Sabbath*. And behold
 “ there was a Woman which had a Spirit of Infirmi-
 “ ty eighteen Years, and was bowed together, and
 “ could in no wise lift up her self. And when *Jesus*
 “ saw her, he called her to him, and said unto her,
 “ Woman thou art loosed from thine Infirmity. And
 “ he laid his Hands upon her, and immediately she
 “ was made streight, and glorify'd God. And the

^d In locum.

“ Ruler of the Synagogue answered with Indignari-
 “ on, because that *Jesus* had healed on the *Sabbath*
 “ Day, and said unto the People, There are six Days
 “ in which Men ought to work, in them therefore
 “ come and be healed, and not on the *Sabbath Day*.
 “ The Lord then answer’d him, and said, Thou Hy-
 “ poerite, doth not each one of you on the *Sabbath*
 “ Day loose his Ox, or his Ass from the Stall, and
 “ lead him away to watering? And ought not this
 “ Woman, being a Daughter of *Abraham*, whom
 “ *Satan* hath bound to these eighteen Years, be loo-
 “ sed from this Bond on the *Sabbath Day*? And
 “ when he had said these Things, all his Adversaries
 “ were ashamed: and all the People rejoiced for all
 “ the glorious Things that were done by him.

In this Answer our Lord appeals to their own
 Constitutions, of which there are several in *Title Shab-
 bath* relating to those Burthens, which Beasts might
 carry that were led to watering upon the *Sabbath*
 Day. And also to those in *Title Erubin*, in which
 the manner of enclosing the Pits and Wells in which
 the Beasts drank at that Time, is accurately describ’d.
 It is observable here, first that our Lord cured this
 Woman unask’d, so that it doth not appear by the
 Text, that she came upon that Design; but he knew
 she had Faith to be healed, and so would not delay
 her Cure one Moment. And secondly, That he
 broke no Sabbatic Law in working of this Miracle,
 for he only spoke to her, and laid his Hands upon
 her, neither of which were forbidden by their De-
 crees.

Luke xiv. 1—6. “ And it came to pass, as he went
 “ into the House of one of the chief *Pharisees* to eat
 “ Bread on the *Sabbath Day*, that they watched him.
 “ And behold there was a certain Man before him

Shabbath cap. v. § *Erubin* cap. ii. 1, 2. “ which

“ which had the Dropsy. And Jesus answering,
 “ spake unto the Lawyers and Pharisees, saying, Is
 “ it lawful to heal on the Sabbath Day? And they
 “ held their Peace. And he took him and healed
 “ him, and let him go. And answered them, saying,
 “ Which of you shall have an Ass or an Ox fallen
 “ into a Pit, and will not straightway pull him out
 “ on the Sabbath Day? And they could not answer
 “ him again to these Things.

This History and the former explain one another.
 The same Ideas run thro’ both. A Dropsy was no
 acute Disease, so that the Patient might be very well
 supposed to be able to stay another Day. A Beast in
 a Pit in imminent Danger might be lawfully taken
 out, as well as a Beast that was dry, led out to wa-
 tering. To this they could make no Answer, so they
 held their Peace.

John v. 5—18. “ And a certain Man was there
 “ [at the Pool of Bethesda] which had an Infirmity
 “ thirty and eight Years. When Jesus saw him lie,
 “ and knew that he had been now a long time in
 “ that Case, he saith unto him, Wilt thou be made
 “ whole? The Impotent Man answer’d him, Sir, I
 “ have no Man when the Water is troubled to put me
 “ into the Pool; but while I am coming another
 “ steppeth down before me. Jesus saith unto him,
 “ Rise, take up thy Bed, and walk. And immediate-
 “ ly the Man was made whole, and took up his Bed,
 “ and walked: and on the same Day was the Sab-
 “ bath. The Jews therefore said unto him that was
 “ cured, It is the Sabbath Day. It is not lawful for
 “ thee to carry thy Bed. He answer’d them, He that
 “ made me whole, the same said unto me, Take up
 “ thy Bed and walk. Then asked they him, What
 “ Man is that which said unto thee, Take up thy Bed
 “ and walk? And he that was healed wist not who
 “ it was; for Jesus had conveyed himself away, a
 “ multitude being in that Place. Afterwards Jesus

“ findeth

“ findeth him in the Temple, and said unto him,
 “ Behold thou art made whole, sin no more, lest a
 “ worse Thing come unto thee. The Man departed
 “ and told the *Jews* that it was *Jesus* which had
 “ made him whole. And therefore did the *Jews* per-
 “ secute *Jesus*, and sought to slay him, because he
 “ had done these Things on the *Sabbath Day*. But
 “ *Jesus* answer’d them, My Father worketh hither-
 “ to, and I work. Therefore the *Jews* sought the
 “ more to kill him, because he not only had broken
 “ the *Sabbath*, but said also that God was his Father,
 “ making himself equal with God.

F. Lamy thinks this Miracle was wrought at the
 Feast of *Purim*, when the *Jews* were assembled in
 great Numbers at *Jerusalem*. Our Lord shew’d his
 Power very extraordinarily, and so the *Jews* understood
 it. He not only cur’d the impotent Man, who knew
 him not, but bid him *take up his Bed and walk*; by
 which Command, as well as Action of his, he plain-
 ly shew’d them that he acted as one that was Lord of
 the *Sabbath*, and consequently did not think himself
 bound up by the Sabbatical Laws; among which
carrying of Burthens, (which is particularly condemn’d
 as unlawful by the Prophet *Jeremiah* 8) was one of
 the chiefest. Those therefore who probably might
 not know that this impotent Man was newly healed,
 when they saw him *carrying his Bed*, were offended,
 and well they might. They did *not sin* in taking of-
 fence at such an open and flagrant Violation of the
 Law; *nor did he sin* in obeying *Jesus*, tho’ he did not
 then know who he was. For, (as he told them) it
 was the Man that had made him whole that gave him
 that Command. He knew he had been a Cripple for
 38 Years before, and had come to the Pool of *Bet-
 hesda*, and waited long there to no purpose. When

8 *Jerem.* xvii. 21, 24.

therefore

therefore he was thus wonderfully healed by a Word speaking, he was sure that the Person that cur'd him in so astonishing a manner was endued with Power from God. He therefore readily obey'd him, and justify'd himself in so doing. No wonder then if these *Jews*, who were blinded by a misguided Zeal, were not convinced by the Reason which this lately impotent Man gave why he broke the Law, but persecuted *Jesus*, and sought to slay him, because he had done THESE THINGS on the Sabbath Day. Our Lord's Defence justify'd the poor Man, and was thoroughly understood by those that heard him. *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work.* My Father giveth and preserveth Life, ordereth and governeth every Thing for the good of his Creatures upon the Sabbath Day. Why may not I then upon that Day restore this helpless old Man, who had lain thus long under a fruitless expectation of Relief, struggling with his Infirmary? The *Jews*, I say, understood this perfectly well. They saw he made himself equal with God, and therefore they sought the more to kill him. If he were Lord of the Sabbath he must be God. If he were not God, he could not dispense particularly with a Law which did not in the least depend upon their Traditions. They might rationally believe that there was a great deal to be said for curing Men upon the Sabbath Day, but there could not be that said for bidding them *take up their Beds and walk upon that Day*; since that was neither a work of Necessity nor Charity. Our Lord therefore gave the true and sufficient Reason for what he did, which was, that he, the Son of God, commanded that to be done at that Time.

John vii. 21—24. “*Jesus* answer'd and said unto them, I have done one Work, and ye all marvel. “*Moses* therefore gave unto you Circumcision, (not “because it is of *Moses*, but of the Fathers) and ye “on the *Sabbath Day* circumcise a Man. If a Man “on

“ on the Sabbath Day receive Circumcision, that the
 “ Law of Moses should not be broken; are ye angry at
 “ me, because I have made a Man every whit whole
 “ on the Sabbath Day? Judge not according to the
 “ Appearance, but judge righteous Judgment.

Our Lord in this Vindication of himself refers to his curing of some sick Person on the Sabbath Day. Who the Person was whom he had cured is not said. Probably it was the Man whom he had healed with a Word speaking in a former Feast, the Cripple perhaps who lay at the Pool of *Bethesda*. He uses now other Topicks, particularly their practice in the matter of Circumcision. It appears by *Title Shabbath* that they thought themselves obliged to *circumcise*, and to do all things necessary for that Work upon the eighth Day, let it happen when it would, provided they were absolutely certain that that was the individual eighth Day after the Birth of the Child. This they did that the Law of *Moses* might not be broken: For though by Evasions they often made void the Law, yet they never openly contradicted it.

John ix. 1—9. “ And as *Jesus* passed by, he saw
 “ a Man which was blind from his Birth. And his
 “ Disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin,
 “ this Man or his Parents, that he was born blind?
 “ *Jesus* answered, Neither hath this Man sinned, nor
 “ his Parents: but that the Works of God should be
 “ made manifest in him. I must work the works of
 “ him that sent me, while it is Day: the Night com-
 “ eth when no Man can work. As long as I am in
 “ the World, I am the Light of the World. When
 “ he had thus spoken he spat on the Ground, and
 “ made Clay of the Spittle, and he anointed the Eyes
 “ of the blind Man with the Clay. And said unto
 “ him, Go wash in the Pool of *Siloam*, which is by

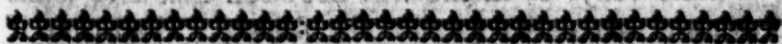
“ Interpretation sent : He went his way therefore and washed, and came seeing.

Ibid. 13—16. “ They brought to the *Pharisees* him that aforetime was blind. And it was the Sabbath Day when *Jesus* made the Clay and opened his Eyes. Then again the *Pharisees* also asked him how he had receiv’d his sight. He said unto them, He put Clay upon mine Eyes, and I washed, and do see. Therefore said some of the *Pharisees*, this Man is not of God, because he keepeth not the SABBATH Day.

Here we ought to observe, I. That our Lord was not asked by this blind Man, who sat begging by the Gate of the Temple, to heal him. It is probable that this blind Man did not know that our Lord was there, for he withdrew himself secretly out of the Temple, where the People threw Stones at him, because he asserted himself to be the Son of God. II. That (tho’ he had cured him with his bare Word, as he did several of those who have been already mention’d, yet) in Contempt of the Sabbatical Laws, which he design’d quickly to abolish, he used something in the Cure of this blind Man, which should appear to be a Medicine, tho’ it was in its Nature quite otherwise, and rubbed it upon his Eyes, and afterwards sent him to wash in the Pool of *Siloam*. III. That *Jesus Christ* seems to have had the *Traditionary Laws* relating to *Eductions* particularly in view, when he acted after this mannerⁱ. IV. That no Case cou’d possibly have happen’d, in which the Patient could have staid with more ease till another Day, than this of the Man that was born blind; who having never known what seeing meant, was not sensible of the want of it. V. That therefore this Man was pitched upon to be healed at that Time;

ⁱ *Shabb.* viii. 4. and ix. 7.

because thereby the *Works of God*, as well in the Manner and Time when this Miracle was wrought, as by the Miracle itself were made more manifest in him. For now the Time when our Lord was to lay down his Life drew on apace: When therefore he wrought any Miracle, towards the latter end of his Ministry, he did it as well to shew his Enemies that he was the Son of God, as to do good to the Persons cured. Thus he would not heal *Lazarus* whilst he was sick, but suffer'd him to die, and to be bury'd four Days, when the Body began to putrify; and then rais'd him in the presence of numbers of People, who came from *Jerusalem* to *Bethany* to comfort the afflicted Sisters who mourned for their Brother.



CHAP. IX.

Texts relating to the Observation of the SABBATH in the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles.

ACTS i. 12. " Then returned they un-
 A " to *Jerusalem*, from the Mount called
 " *Olivet*, which is from *Jerusalem* a Sab-
 " bath Days Journey.

A Sabbath Days Journey was 2000 Cubits; and tho' part of Mount *Olivet* was farther from the City than that stated Term, yet still there was no part of it 4000 Cubits from *Jerusalem*; and by the Mixtures of Terms explain'd in Title *Eruvin*, any part of the Hill might be easily reach'd upon the Sabbath Day, and that will be sufficient, (and perhaps the surest way) to reconcile the different Opinions of learned Men

Men concerning that Matter. The Reason why I say this, is, because St. *Luke* says ^k, that our Lord just before his Ascension led his Disciples out as far as *Bethany*; and St. *John* tells us ^m that *Bethany* was fifteen Furlongs from *Jerusalem*. And here we are told that they returned from Mount *Olivet*, which was but a Sabbath Days Journey off. It is very probable that the Place where *Christ* ascended was in that part of the Mount on which *Bethany* stood. St. *Luke* and St. *John* mention the two Distances, because they wrote to Gentile Christians who might be willing to be particularly inform'd of the Distances of two Places from *Jerusalem*, which were so especially honour'd with the Presence of our Lord. It is plain therefore to me, that *Jesus Christ* ascended into Heaven at *Bethany*, or in the way between that and what was more particularly call'd the Mount. And then if we should assert that our Saviour lay a-nights in *Bethany*, from whence he return'd on the Sabbath Days to the Temple, he might easily do it, without giving any Offence. His Sabbath might be legally lengthen'd so far. I say legally, because tho' the lengthening of Sabbath Terms was not commanded in the *Mosaic Law*, yet it was by the Traditions of the Elders, which when no ways unlawful, or superstitious, were without all peradventure practis'd by our Blessed Saviour. For he gave no Offence to the *Pharisees* at any time, unless it was in order to do them a greater Good. And how little soever these Things appear to us, they were far from appearing little or inconsiderable to them.

Acts xiii. 14, 15. " But when they departed from *Perga*, they came to *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, and went into the Synagogue on the Sabbath Day, and sat down. And after the reading of the Law and the

~~And after the reading of the Law and the~~
^k *Luke* xxiv. 50. ^m *John* xi. 18.
 " Prophets,

“ Prophets, the Rulers of the Synagogue sent unto
 “ them, saying, Ye Men and Brethren, if ye have
 “ any word of Exhortation for the People, say on.

Ibid. 27. “ For they that dwell at *Jerusalem*,
 “ and their Rulers, because they knew him not, nor
 “ yet the Voices of the Prophets which are read eve-
 “ ry Sabbath Day, they have fulfilled them in con-
 “ demning him.

Ibid. 42. “ And when the *Jews* were gone out
 “ of the Synagogue, the *Gentiles* besought that these
 “ words might be preached to them the next Sab-
 “ bath.

Ibid. 44. “ And the next Sabbath Day came al-
 “ most the whole City together to hear the word of
 “ God.

These Texts shew that the *Synagogue-worship* was
 a constant part of the *Sabbath-service* among the
Jews, and that the Apostles did at first regularly ob-
 serve it, especially where they were to plant the Gos-
 pel: For tho’ the *Jewish* Ordinances were as to their
 Efficacy entirely abolish’d by the offering which our
 Blessed Saviour had already offer’d of himself upon the
 Cross, yet the Service of the Sanctuary was not dis-
 used by the converted *Jews* as long as the second
 Temple stood, or at least but a very little while be-
 fore, when the Christians left *Jerusalem* upon the ap-
 proach of the *Romans* to besiege it. The Apostles
 therefore when they were among the *Jews*, and es-
 pecially when they were to preach to them, kept the
Sabbath religiously. Indeed otherwise they could not
 well have had Opportunities of speaking to great
 Numbers at a Time which was absolutely necessary
 to Men that were to convert Nations to the Faith,
 and were oblig’d to preach to the Jew first, and after-
 wards to the Gentile.

Acts xv. 20, 21. “ But that we write unto them,
 “ that they abstain from Pollutions of Idols, and from
 “ Fornication, and from Things strangled, and from
 “ Blood.

“ Blood. For *Moses* of old Time hath in every Ci-
 “ ty them that preach him, being read in the Syna-
 “ gogues every Sabbath Day.

This Conclusion of *St. James's*, in which he gives a Reason why a Letter should be sent to the Christians at *Antioch*, to abstain from the Things here specify'd, is very cogent. Let us, says he, write to them to avoid *Pollutions of Idols, Fornication, things Strangled, and Blood*, that they may be acquainted with their Christian Liberty. The Law is, and has been immemorially, read to them every Sabbath Day. There is no Fear but by hearing *Moses* weekly read and interpreted, they will be sufficiently instructed in the Nature of his Law. It is not yet a proper Time to direct Christians to leave off frequenting the Synagogues. The weight then of that Burthen which the keeping of *Moses's* Law must occasion, will continue to distract their Minds as it has done already; for it was the believing *Pharisees*, who taught the necessity of Circumcision, and Obedience to the Law of *Moses*. Since therefore they hear that Law read in the Synagogues, which they frequent every Sabbath Day, let us write to them, to abstain from these Things, that they may not give Offence, and then they will do well, and that will be sufficient, and so they may at the same Time preserve their Christian Liberty.

Acts xvii. 1, 2. “ Now when they had pass'd
 “ through *Amphipolis* and *Apollonia*, they came to
 “ *Thessalonica*, where was a Synagogue of the Jews.
 “ And *Paul*, as his manner was, went in unto them,
 “ and three Sabbath Days reasoned with them out of
 “ the Scriptures.

St. Paul acted here agreeably to his Practice in other Places specify'd already in the xiiith Chapter.

Acts xv. 5. *Coloss.*

Coloss. ii. 16, 17. "Let no Man therefore judge
"you in Meat or in Drink, or in respect of any *holy*
"Day, or of the *New Moon*, or of the *SABBATH*
"Days; which are a *shadow* of Things to come,
"but the Body is of *Christ*.

This Text unanswerably proves against the Christian Sabbatarians the ENTIRE ABOLITION of the *Jewish* SABBATH as to Conscience, which is properly the seventh Day of the Week. The SABBATH is here join'd with *clean* and *unclean*°, *common* and *holy* Meats and Drinks, which Distinctions were declared to be antiquated in the Vision of *Peter's* Sheet; and with *New Moons*, the Obligation to the sanctifying of which is not commanded or taught by any Sect of Christians in the World that I know of.

Heb. iv. 3—11. "For we which have believed
"do enter into Rest, as he said, As I have sworn in
"my Wrath, if they shall enter into my rest: although
"the Works were finished from the Foundation of
"the World. For he spake in a certain Place of the
"seventh Day in this wise, And God did rest the se-
"venth Day from all his Works. And in this Place
"again, If they shall enter into my Rest. Seeing there-
"fore it remaineth that some must enter therein, and
"they to whom it was first preached entered not in,
"because of Unbelief. Again, he limiteth a certain
"Day, saying in *David*, To Day, after so long a Time:
"as it is said, To Day if ye will hear his Voice, har-
"den not your Hearts. For if *Jesus* had given them
"Rest, then would he not afterward have spoken

° Common and unclean are often confounded by Interpreters, and common is sometimes used for unclean in Scripture. But there is a real difference. Common seems to answer to the Hebrew *Tebel*, i. e. what has had neither Tithe nor *Trumah* taken out of it. This though the Priests might eat, yet the People might not. Of what is unclean, as Hogs, Hares, Camels, and the like, no Man might eat.

“ of another Day. There remaineth therefore a Rest
 “ to the People of God. For he that is *entred into*
 “ *bis Rest*, he also hath *ceased from bis own Works*,
 “ as *God did from bis*. Let us labour therefore to
 “ *enter into that Rest*, lest any Man fall after the same
 “ Example of Unbelief.

The Reasoning of St. Paul in these words plainly shews that there was a *Patriarchal Sabbath* as well as a *Mosaical* one. The Thread of his Argument, which is taken from *Psalms* xcv. 11. is this. We that believe in the Name of *Jesus Christ* shall enter into Rest, *i. e.* shall keep an eternal Sabbath in Heaven, where no servile Work shall interrupt our Happiness. He alludes to the signification of the *Hebrew* word *Sabbath*, which is *Rest*. Now, says he, God when he instituted the Sabbath at the Creation, says of the seventh Day on this wise, *God did rest the seventh Day from all bis Works*. And also the *Psalmist* says, That those who sinned in the Wilderness found no Rest, but their Carcasses fell in the Wilderness. *Joshua* therefore brought their Children into their Rest, *i. e.* into the Land of *Canaan*; but then that Rest was not stable, and therefore *David* spake of another Day, when their Rest or Sabbath should be uninterrupted. The Apostle then having shewn, that since neither Paradise was a stable Rest to *Adam*, to whom the first Sabbath was given, nor the Land of *Canaan* to the *Jews*, to whom that Sabbath was renew'd with special Reinforcements; therefore there remained a farther Rest to the People of God in the heavenly Paradise, which *Jesus Christ* had purchased for them with his Blood. In the Decalogue (*Exod.* xx.) the Creation was remember'd. In *Deut.* v. the coming out of the Land of *Canaan* is also mention'd, when the same fourth Commandment is repeated. St. Paul alludes to them both, and shews them to have been both Types of the eternal Sabbath. But to reason from a Type which never had any Being, would be no reasoning

reasoning at all. Therefore there was certainly a *Patriarchal Sabbath*, (whether constantly observed till *Moses* or not, is not the Question). Then the Apostle's Argument has its full force: *Adam* was soon turn'd out of his *Paradisaical Rest*, the *Jews* are ejected out of their *Canaanitish Rest*, but the People of God shall never be turned out of their *heavenly Rest*: This is the true Exposition of this Place. *St. Paul* indeed do's not quote the whole Text of *Gen. ii. 2, 3.* he only says God rested the seventh Day from all his Works; but he wrote to those who perfectly knew what follow'd, and who knew that it was customary with their Teachers, when they quoted any Texts out of the Old Testament, to name only the first words, leaving the rest to the Memory of their Auditors; as *St. Paul* did here, who named only the Substance of what *Moses* said *Gen. ii.* leaving the rest to the Memory of those to whom he wrote. Here then is another Proof of the ABOLITION of the *Jewish Sabbath*; which, as being a Type of our HEAVENLY REST, purchased for us by our great HIGH PRIEST, and clearly revealed to us in the Gospel, has now no longer Place, since the Body of which that was only a SHADOW is plainly discover'd to us P.

p Vide Surenhusii B. 6. l. 8. c. 2. seu Conciliatoris. pagg. 618. — 621.





CHAP. X.

Texts in the New Testament relating to the Observation of the first Day of the Week as a Day of Worship, after our Lord's Ascension.

ACTS ii. 1. "And when the Day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one Place.

John xx. 19. "Then the same Day at Evening, being the first Day of the Week, when the Doors were shut, where the Disciples were assembled for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst, and saith unto them, Peace be unto you.

Ibid. 26. "And after eight Days, again his Disciples were within, and Thomas with them: then came Jesus, the Doors being shut, and stood in the midst, and said, Peace be unto you.

The particular specification of this second appearance by naming the distance of Time is very remarkable. The Evangelist mentions it to shew that Jesus Christ then resolv'd to honour the Day of his Resurrection with his Appearance this second Time, and not the Sabbath.

The Day of Pentecost was just fifty Days after the offering of the Wave-Sheaf. Our Lord was crucify'd on Friday, which was the Preparation. On the Saturday was the great Sabbath, all which Day he lay in the Grave. On Sunday, which was the Day following, on which he rose, the Wave-Sheaf was offer'd.

After

observing the first Day of the Week. 295

After that there were seven Sabbaths before *Pentecost*. The seventh Sabbath therefore, was then the 49th Day after the Resurrection inclusively; for so those Days were to be reckon'd according to the Letter of the Law 9. Then the Day after the seventh Sabbath was the 50th Day, or the Day of *Pentecost*; on which Day, which was a *holy Convocation*, and the *first Day of the Week*, the Holy Ghost fell upon the Apostles. Thus the Resurrection, and the Mission of the Holy Ghost, the two finishing Works of our Redemption happen'd on the same Day; and that the concurrence of these two Events at the same Time was purposely so directed, we need not question. And thus upon this Day, that great work of Mercy and Love towards Mankind was completed; and the Obligation in Conscience to observe the *Jewish Law* (as such) entirely taken away. And the Obedience which the Christians paid to it, as the *Gentiles* came in, by degrees ceased; till upon the Destruction of the second Temple, it did in a manner quite vanish away. The primitive Christians did indeed for some Ages keep the *Sabbath* along with the *Lord's Day* in reverence to the Apostolical practice. But as *Sr. Paul* informs the *Colossians*, it was what they were not obliged to; though when they came where *Jews* were numerous, it was very convenient, because they had then a better opportunity of preaching the Gospel to those who were not yet converted, and of instructing those that were, who met still regularly upon that Day. However, had the obligation to keep the *Sabbath*, bound the Consciences of Christians, even before the Destruction of the second Temple, it certainly would have been mention'd among those Things which they were to do, in the Letter which was sent by the Apostles and Elders of the Church of *Jerusa-*

9 *Levit.* xxiii. 15, 16.

296 Texts in N. T. after the Ascension, for

tem *Acts* xv. to the Christians at *Antioch*, which we see it was not.

Acts xx. 7. "And upon the *first Day of the Week*,
" when the Disciples came together to break Bread,
" Paul preached unto them, ready to depart on the
" morrow, and continued his Speech until Mid-
" night.

We see now the *first Day of the Week* was regularly observ'd as a Day on which Christians met to worship God. One great part of this Worship was *breaking of Bread*. When therefore we find *Acts* ii. 46. that the first Converts continu'd daily with one accord in the Temple, it is added, *That they broke Bread from House to House*. They were immediately instructed that the Celebration of the Eucharist had nothing to do with the Temple-Service. It is said that they were daily in the Temple; thither they went every Day at the Hours of Prayer^r: But it is not said that they broke Bread in private Houses daily. That (we may probably suppose) was perform'd every *first Day of the Week*, very soon after the first *Pentecost*, in memory both of the *Resurrection*, and of the *Effusion of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost*, which (as we have seen already) did both happen upon the self-same Day of the Week.

1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2. "Now concerning the Collection
" for the Saints, as I have given order to the Churches
" of *Galatia*, even so do ye. Upon the *first Day of*
" *the Week*, let every one of you lay by him in store,
" as God hath prosper'd him, that there be no ga-
" therings when I come.

As the Christians met on the *first Day of the Week* to break Bread, so on that Day also they made Collections for the Saints that were in Distress. The former Text shews that they met customarily on that

observing the first Day of the Week. 197

Day at *Troas*, and here we see that they did so at *Corinth* too. The great Distance of those two Places from one another, shews the Custom to have been very general. We may venture to affirm positively that it was observ'd in all Places where *St. Paul* preach'd; which, as they were very many, so they do demonstrably shew the *Abolition* of the *Sabbath* in point of Conscience; for that he tells the *Colossians* was but a *shadow*. And we know he was assisted by the Spirit of God in *all Things* that related to the preaching of the Gospel, and the planting of Churches; of *those Things*, this of appointing a stated Day for publick Worship was none of the *least*.

Revel. i. 10. "I was in the Spirit on the LORD's DAY, and heard behind me a great Voice, as of a Trumpet.

In *Greek* it is *Κυριακή ἡμέρα*. It was never question'd, that the *first Day of the Week* is in this Text call'd the *Lord's Day*. *St. John* here names it by the stated Name, by which it was then commonly known. This incontestably proves the generality of its Use, and the Consecration of it to religious Purposes, to have been supposed and allow'd by the Christian Church at that Time. In a word, this Day was set apart to the Memory and Honour of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; and as the *seventh Day of the Week*, which *Moses* calls emphatically the *Sabbath*, put the World in mind of God's *Rest* from all his Works when the Creation was finish'd: So this Day was appointed to put them in mind also of the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ* from the Dead, by which he was to introduce all that shou'd believe in him into a *new Heaven* and a *new Earth*, where there should be an *Everlasting rest*, and where *Righteousness* should dwell for evermore.

Day at first, and how we do that they did to at Co-
 vint too. The first Day of the Week was
 [ornamental border]

General. We may venture to affirm positively that it was
 observed by all that were present; which
 as they very much to be commended they

the point of Conscience; And
 we know how much the Spirit of God in Man

HAVING now drawn up with what Care
 and Exactness I could, a List of the several
 Texts relating to the worship of *one Day*
in seven out of the Old and New Testa-
 ment, I shall make some Observations upon the
 whole.

I. We see *Moses* mentions the Sanctification of the
seventh Day immediately after his giving an Account
 of the History of the Creation. *Adam's* Business in
 Paradise was to till the Ground: But then as a ra-
 tional Being who had newly receiv'd Life and Exist-
 ence from a beneficent Creator, it was meet that he
 should offer up his Tribute of Thanks and Praise for
 so great a Gift. He was, we may be sure, instruct-
 ed in the manner of his Creation, i. e. that he had
 newly receiv'd his Being out of nothing. He was
 told to whom he ow'd his Being, whilst he continu'd
 in the State of Innocence. For it was his Maker
 that commanded him not to eat the forbidden Fruit,
 and he cannot be supposed to have impos'd a Com-
 mand without shewing *Adam* at the same Time what
 right he had to impose it. Besides, what is much
 more to our present purpose, the Time of *Adam's*
 continuing in Paradise seems not to have been so short,
 as it is generally thought: It was certainly long e-
 nough for him to give Names to the Beasts and Fowls
 that were brought before him. The Angel who
 brought them by God's Command to *Adam*, must
 have inform'd him of the several Natures of all of
 them,

them, otherwise how could he have given them proper Names? That, and letting him into the Secrets of the Creation, to which he was a perfect Stranger (all visible Ideas being to him, as they are to all new born Infants wholly strange) could not be done quickly. Reason then will tell us, that he, when once he was acquainted with the Nature of that great *Hexameron*, would choose to keep the Sabbath; that the Day on which God rested from his Work, might also be a Day of Rest to him, who was particularly commanded to *till the Ground*.*

Why therefore learned Men should think that *Moses* put this Account of the *Sanctification of the seventh Day* into the History of the Creation prophetically, is to me unconceivable. We can easily suppose that what *Adam* was to do in his religious worship upon that Day should be left to himself. His Understanding then entire and perfect, and his Will then unsully'd with corrupt and deprav'd Affections would sufficiently inform and direct him, that he was to thank his Maker, and pray for future Protection. This might be very well done without a set Form of Words. His Heart was upright, his Words then could not be improper. The first Sacrifice was offer'd after the Fall, when God commanded *Adam*, (according to a very ancient and no ways improbable *Jewish* Tradition) to offer Sacrifices, with the Skins of which he and *Eve* were cloathed. That their first Cloathing was made with Skins of Beasts, is plain from *Gen. iii. 21*. And we may certainly averr that Flesh was not allow'd to be eaten till after the Flood. *St. Paul* tells us, that *without shedding of Blood is no Remission*†. When therefore God declar'd that he would not execute the Letter of the Law, in putting *Adam* and *Eve* to death,

* See *Gen. ii. 15*.
Heb. ix. 22.

† *Χωρὸς αἱματέχχυρας ἢ γίνετ' ἀφάρτις*.

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he confirm'd this by accepting that Sacrifice which he commanded him to make, and by cloathing him and his Wife with the Skins. By doing this God still the more assur'd our first Parents of their Forgiveness. That ancient Tradition therefore that *Adam* offer'd Sacrifices for himself and for *Eve*, by God's Direction immediately after the Fall, which were consumed by Fire from Heaven, seems to me to be very well grounded. Thereby God gave a visible Seal, the same which he constantly gave till the Destruction of the first Temple, to his entring again into Covenant with our first Parent, and thereby declaring that he would not destroy him for eating the forbidden Fruit, as he at first threatened.

Thus Sacrifices in their original Design supposed Sin, and subsequent Weakness. Consequently they were not appointed before the Fall, nor was there then any need of them. It would lead me too much out of my way to enter into a detail upon the Question, concerning the first Institution of Sacrifices, whether they were of *God*, or of *Men*. That they were not instituted in compliance with the RUDENESS OF THE GENTILES, as *Dr. Spencer* phrases it, who assigns scarce any other Cause of their Appointment in the *Mosaic Law*, is to me certain. Though I will not deny that some particular sorts of Offerings, specify'd in the *Levitical Law*, might be requir'd in order to keep the *Israelites* at a greater Distance from the idolatrous Customs of the *Aegyptians*, with whom they had so long convers'd during their continuance in their House of Bondage. This Question is finely stated and determin'd by a very learned Man of the last Age, *Johannes Cloppenburgius* in his *Scholâ Sacrificiorum Patriarchalium*, to which I recommend the curious Reader.

▼ Sacrificia, formaliter spectata, è Gentium ruditate dimanasse. *Spencerus de Legg. Hebr. Ritualibus, Lib. iii, Dissert. 2. cap. 1. in lemmate.*

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II. Tho' we have no explicit Account of the regular Observation of *one Day in seven* before the *Israelites* were in the Wilderness of *Sin*, yet neither have we any Thing to the contrary. Then indeed upon the *twenty second Day* of the *second Month*, after their coming out of *Aegypt*, it was observ'd by *Name*. It is supposed by very learned Men that the *Sabbath* was not observ'd before, because the People marched from *Elim* upon the *15th Day*: But that is no Argument, the Marches of that People in the Wilderness were always made by Virtue of a divine Command. They were not only commanded by God, but directed too by Miracle. *For the LORD went before them by Day in a Pillar of a Cloud, to lead them the way, and by Night in a Pillar of Fire to give them Light: to go by Day and Night. Exod. xiii. 21.* When the Pillar stopt they stood still, when, and as it moved they marched. If then they march'd by God's Command, they were not guilty of *breaking the Sabbath*, because they certainly then did *not do their own Works*; for they obey'd him who was Lord of the Sabbath: They cross'd the *Red-Sea* upon that Day. The Reason of the Institution of the Sabbath given in *Deut. v.* seems to put that out of Doubt. Why should they remember their coming out of *Aegypt* on that Day, unless that was the Day on which they came out? They could not be said to be come out, till they had cross'd that Sea. No Body doubts but that was miraculous, and was a *Glorification* instead of a *Profanation* of that Day. Afterwards indeed, we may probably suppose that they never marched upon the *Sabbath*: But if they did, since all their Marches were directed as well as register'd by God's Command^w, they were certainly faultless in so doing.

^w *Numb. xxxiii. 2.*

III. When

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III. When once the *Sabbath* was commanded in the Wilderness, its Nature was alter'd, and it became subservient to different Purposes, than those for which it was at first design'd. It was now a Sign between God and his chosen People; so God tells them *Exod. xxxi. 13.* and those Words are repeated and enlarged upon by *Ezekiel* *. So that in Truth the *Sabbath* became then a *Sacrament*, by which God testify'd that he was in Covenant with that People, and they likewise by keeping it holy, declar'd that they were in Covenant with him. Of which their Rest from all servile Labour, so that they might not kindle Fires, dress Meat, carry Burthens, plow in Seed-time, nor sow in Harvest, (all which Prohibitions effectually distinguished *this Day* from the *Patriarchal Sabbath*) were plain and visible Signs. This shews the true Reason why this Commandment is put into the *Decalogue*, and became one of those *ten Words*; which, and which only, of all the Laws given to that People in the Wilderness, were written upon Stone by God himself, and given to the People. The nine others were *Judgments* and *Statutes*; which if they did, they should surely live in them. This was the SIGN or SACRAMENT of the LORD unto them; that the Observance of the Rest should be accepted. Thus the *Decalogue* was the Abridgement of the first Covenant, made before the Defection about the Golden Calf, and the *Sabbath* was the great constant Precept by which the *Israëlites* were commanded weekly to testify that on their Part this Covenant was accepted. This explains the Reason why *Ezekiel* in that whole Chapter above quoted never calls the *Sabbath* a *Statute*, or a *Judgment* but a *Sign* between God and his People, and always distinguishes between *It* and *Them*. Now as here there was an outward visible

* *Ezek. xx. 12, 20.*

Sign in the Sabbath, so there was an outward and visible Blessing annex'd to it, namely, Felicity in the Land of Canaan, which was typical of the Rest that remaineth for the People of God in the next World, where they shall keep an eternal Sabbath.*

IV. This well attended to, with a Comparison between the Sabbatical Laws given by Moses, and the Commentary upon them in Ezekiel, clears (as I think) beyond Contradiction the Question about the Abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath, and puts it in a very clear Light. When good Men saw the Sabbath plac'd with so much solemnity in the first Table of the Decalogue, where every other Command has an inherent and a moral Sanctity, they were apt to conclude that this Command too was ENTIRELY moral; but that was not the proper Inference. It shewed indeed that God expected it should be religiously observ'd. The Reason of its Observation given in the Command itself, besides it's being plac'd in that Rank in the Decalogue, puts that beyond Dispute. If the Jewish Sabbath was the very seventh Day from the Creation, as there is Reason to think it was, that would still add a greater Reverence to it. And that Reason assign'd in the Decalogue was worthy of God to give; for then, as the Sabbath was appointed at first, that Adam might be weekly put in mind, in and from whom he lived and moved, and had his Being; so it was now reinforc'd, and, as if it were instituted anew in this publick, and solemn, and majestick Manner, that the People might by this WEEKLY SIGN be kept from relapsing into Egyptian Idolatry, and constant

* Some of the most eminent of the modern Jews understand the Sabbath to have been instituted with this View. Solomon Jarchi in his Commentary upon the xcii^d Psalm, says that it was a Song which the Levites sang upon the Sabbath, and was to be interpreted of the WORLD TO COME, the which was ALL-SABBATH.

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ly worship him who made the Heaven, the Earth, the Sea, and all that therein is.

V. Thus it stood till *Christ* came. When he by his *real Sacrifice* had given a full Declaration, that all the *typical Sacrifices*, which were offer'd in Faith before, were actually accepted, the former Covenant made with the *Jews* fell of Course. The *Jewish Sabbath* ceased then to be a SIGN, because the *Thing* which it signify'd was now no more. St. Paul therefore when he exhorts the *Colossians* to assert their Christian Liberty, commands that *no Man should judge them in Meat, or in Drink, or in Respect of any holy Day, or of the New Moon, or of the SABBATH Days, which are a shadow of Things to come, but the Body is of Christ.* The *Sabbath* is put here along with *clean and unclean Meats*, and with the *great Festivals and new Moons*. Now if the *Jewish Covenant* itself was only a *shadow of good Things to come*, then a *single Ordinance*, which was the *Sign of that Covenant*, was much more so. And therefore *Jesus Christ* who was *made Flesh*, to fulfil the *Law*, (i. e. to be the *Anti-type* of those *Things*, of which the *Law of Moses* was the *Type*, which by the way is the true meaning of that Text) when he mentions several of the principal *Laws of the Decalogue*, as the *sixth*, the *seventh*, and the *third Commandments* for instance, in that *Sermon upon the Mount*, and shews how they were to be understood for the future; he says not one word of the *Sabbath*, no more than of the *Passover*, of *Circumcision*, of the *Feasts*, and of the *Sacrifices* of the *Mosaic Law*: Tho' whilst he liv'd he paid all the regard to the *Ritual Law*, which its *divine Original* might justly challenge. The *Lepers* whom he at any *Time* healed, he always sent to the *Priest*. The *Tribute Money* he paid, though he was *LORD* of

that Temple, for whose Service it was levy'd. The solemn Feasts, at which his Presence might be expected at *Jerusalem*, he constantly frequented, and he attended the Service of the Synagogue every *Sabbath Day*.

VI. Setting that single Instance of his Regard to that Day aside, in every Thing else he treated it with a particular Disrespect, such indeed as he shew'd to no one Command in the whole *Mosaic* Law besides. He wrought Miracles to choose upon that Day, in chronical Cases, when the People might as well have come to him another Day, as the *Pharisees* bad them, if he had thought it necessary. And if the sick whom he then healed lay on Couches or Beds at that Time, he commanded them to carry them away, which was a plain Declaration how much he thought himself to be Lord of the Sabbath. When his Disciples were hungry, upon that Day he suffer'd them to pluck the Ears of Corn, and justify'd them in so doing, tho' that was a very improper sort of Food to fill their Bellies. This he did, to let them, before whom the Disciples did this, see that he was the real *Body* of those Things of which the Sabbath was but the *shadow*. Upon these Principles we shall not wonder at our Lord's acting in that manner. The *durable part* of the *Sabbath*, he paid a due and a proper Regard to, when he frequented the public Worship in the Temple, or the Synagogues on that Day. The *perishing Part*, which consisted in the *Sabbath Rest*, commanded in the Law, justify'd and encourag'd by the Prophets, and restored to its full strictness first by *Nehemiah*, then by the *Elders*, he did not mind, especially when it stood in competition with any greater Good.

VII. No wonder then if it fell along with the *Jewish* Oeconomy. The Obligation to that Oeconomy was made void upon the Cross, but the Observation lasted till the Destruction of the second Temple.

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ple. Sacrifices were offer'd, Children were circumcised, Vows were paid, and the *Sabbath* was kept strictly as long as that Temple stood. The Efficacy of that Service indeed was gone, but the *Jewish* Converts, even after they were instructed in the Nature and Extent of their Christian Liberty, were regularly obedient to the Law all that Time. But when once that Temple was destroy'd by *Titus*, according to the dreadful Predictions of our Lord in *Matth. xxiv.* the *Jews* were no longer a chosen People, and the whole *Mosaic* Covenant was entirely disannull'd. Can we wonder then that the SIGN should cease, when the THING of which it was a Sign had no more Existence?

VIII. A new Covenant then took its full Place, and a new Church was erected, of which *Jesus Christ* was the Head, into which the whole Race of Mankind was invited. The old Day of Worship was alter'd, that the Alteration of the Covenant might in that, as well as in the other Instances, the more plainly appear. And the Day that was now observed, was the first instead of the seventh Day of the Week. On that Day our Lord rose from the Dead. On that Day the Holy Ghost first fell upon the Apostles: Both Events of the last Importance to us Christians. By the Resurrection the Work of our Redemption was on God's part fully compleated: And by the Mission of the Holy Ghost Man was fully enabled to do his. After that there was nothing to be done. As then the *Jews* were commanded to sanctify the seventh Day, because in it the Creator rested after the visible World was made, and also because on that Day they cross'd the Red Sea, which compleated their Deliverance out of their House of Bondage; so the Christians were commanded to keep the first Day of their Week holy, on which their Chains of Sin and Death were loosed, and an entrance open'd to those new Heavens, and that new Earth where dwelleth Righteousness. On the
seventh

seventh Day then, the Creation, and on the first Day the Regeneration of Mankind are remember'd.

IX. But here one Objection naturally arises which has shock'd a World of People; that is, they cannot find any direct Command in the New Testament requiring the Observation of the first Day of the Week; whereas the seventh Day was sanctify'd at the Creation, inserted into the Decalogue, kept by Miracle forty Years together in the Wilderness, and mentioned by the Prophets, particularly by *Isaiab*, with Terms of Honour peculiar to itself. And yet notwithstanding all this, here is a SUBSTITUTION of another Day, without any one Command, or any thing like a Command in express Words, to warrant it in the whole New Testament. The weight of this Objection lay so heavy upon the Author of the *Discourse concerning the Patriarchal Sabbath*, that he thought there was no way to solve it, but to assert that the Patri-

" " The first Error in the Digestion of Men's Thoughts touching
 " this Controversy, is the common Hypothesis of all modern Lit-
 " gants, to wit, That the Lord's Day comes in as a Successor in the
 " room of Saturday. Upon which sandy Ground it is not so easy to lay
 " any solid Foundation for sanctifying the Lord's Day. For if
 " that Day which God by his Example and Precept first sancti-
 " fy'd for the weekly Sabbath be Saturday, that Day cannot be
 " un sanctify'd, and another adopted in its Room, but by an equal
 " if not a superior Authority to that which consecrated Satur-
 " day. Now a superior Authority to the Example and Precept
 " of God cannot be imagined, and that which is alledged by ei-
 " ther Party, for the un sanctifying Saturday falls far short of
 " Equality to it. For what argumentative Force can there be in
 " Christ's rising; his appearing to his Apostles; the Apostles as-
 " sembling on Sundays for the sanctifying that Day, comparable
 " to the express Command of God for sanctifying Saturday? Much
 " less can the Constitution of the Church counter-balance it.
 " Briefly, they proclaim Sunday an usurping Intruder into the
 " Privileges of Saturday, rather than its legal Successor, who
 " advances into the Possession of the Saturday's Crown (to be the
 " weekly Holiday) upon no better Claim than can possibly be de-
 " duced for it while they make it a younger Brother." J. S. Pa-
 " triarchal Sabbath, Preface. pagg. 6, 7.

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archal Sabbath kept before the Law, and reinforced in the *Decalogue*, as it is recited in *Exod. xx.* was observ'd upon the *first Day of the Week*, and that the *Jewish Sabbath* was retrained to the *seventh*; and consequently that the Observation of the primitive Day is now revived, and Things brought again into their first and original Chanel. That Notion of his, which is entirely his own, and in which he is not, as I believe, like to be seconded by any Body else, I have spoken to already; and his Fears, or the Fears of any of his Readers, who may be affrighted by what he says, may (as I think) be fully dissipated, by what I have said already, and by what I have farther here to say.

X. I would observe now, that the Texts above produced plainly shew that our Blessed Lord made his second Appearance to all his Disciples together, just *eight Days* inclusively after he had made his first; that on the *first Day of the Week* in very distant parts of the Christian Church, the Faithful met together in a solemn manner to worship God in *St. Paul's Time*; and that before *St. John* dy'd it was called the *LORD'S DAY*, as it has been call'd ever since. Now we may safely and certainly averr, that whatsoever was generally observed by the Apostles in matters of Worship as well as Doctrine, was practised by them in obedience to the immediate Direction of the Holy Ghost. When our Blessed Lord was leaving his Disciples, he told them that when the *SPIRIT OF TRUTH* was come, he should *GUIDE THEM INTO ALL TRUTH*^b. This must relate to Worship as well as Doctrine. Times of Worship were so particularly and eminently provided for in the Old Law, that they could not possibly be overlook'd by those that were to observe them: So that when we find that the Apostles made so material an Alteration as that of changing the Day, we are sure they did not do it

^b *John xvi. 13.*

without Direction. The SAME SPIRIT then that directed them to observe the SABBATH, so as to attend the Service of the Synagogue, and of the Temple upon that Day, as long as the Temple stood, directed them likewise to set apart the *first Day of the Week*, as a Day peculiarly to be kept holy by Christians to the end of the World. But if this Promise of their dying Lord to his Disciples should not be thought sufficient, there is another of equal Strength and Clearness in my Opinion, though not so commonly apply'd to Cases of this Nature.

XI. That is the Promise which our Lord gave first to *Peter*, *Mat. xvi. 19.* and afterwards to all the Apostles *Mat. xviii. 18.* That to *St. Peter* is in these Words. "And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; and *whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven*". That to all the Apostles jointly runs thus: "Verily I say unto you, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.* Binding and Loosing in both these Places is generally restrain'd by Christian Interpreters to matters of Discipline and Authority. But it is as plain as the Sun in the Firmament, by what occurs in Scores of Passages in the two *Misnic* Titles here published, and by numberless others dispersed throughout the *Misna*, and from thence commonly used by the later *Rabbins* when they treat of ritual Subjects, that *Binding* signify'd, and was commonly understood by the *Jews* at that Time to be a Declaration that any Thing was unlawful to be done; and *Loosing* signify'd on the contrary, a Declaration that any Thing might be lawfully done. Our Saviour spoke to his Disciples in a Language which they understood, so that they were not in the least at a loss to comprehend his meaning. And its being obsolete to us, is no manner of Reason

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why we should conclude that it was obscure to them. The words *Bind* and *Loose* are used in both places in a declaratory Sense of *Things*, not of *Persons*. It is *ō* and *ōra* in both places in the neuter Gender; *whatsoever Thing or Things that ye shall bind or loose*. Consequently the same Commission which was given at first to *St. Peter* alone, was afterwards enlarged to all the Apostles. *St. Peter* had made a Confession that *Jesus* was the *Christ*, the Son of God. His Confession of the Divinity of our Lord, was the first that ever was made by Man; to him therefore were given the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, *i. e.* God made choice of him among all the Apostles, that the *Gentiles* should first by his Mouth hear the word of the Gospel and believe. He first OPENED the Kingdom of Heaven to the *Gentiles*, when he preach'd to *Cornelius*. It was open to the *Jews* all along before: but if we should suppose that it was not, yet to them also did *St. Peter* OPEN the Kingdom of Heaven, in his Sermon at the Great *Pentecost*. Thus then *St. Peter* exercised his two Keys; that for the *Jews* at the Great *Pentecost*, and that for the *Gentiles* when he admitted *Cornelius* into the Church. And this was the Reward of his first Confession in which he own'd *Jesus* to be the promised *Messiah*. And what *St. Peter* declar'd, as necessary to be believed and practis'd by the Disciples here (*i. e.* what he *loosed*) was ratify'd above. And what he declar'd unlawful to be believ'd and practis'd (*i. e.* what he *bound*) was actually forbidden by God himself. The People consequently were oblig'd to believe the Doctrines which the Apostles taught, and to obey the Rules they set. Hence it follows that whatsoever was an Apostolical practice, that was not manifestly temporary in its Nature, obliges us, as much as it did that Generation to whom it was enjoin'd. When therefore we find, that the Apostolical Churches observ'd the *Lord's Day* as a Day of meeting together for religious Purposes, long before
the

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the Apostles dy'd; that *Bread was broken*, and *Collecti-
ons made for the Saints* upon that Day at *Troas*, and at
Corinth in *St. Paul's* Time; that that Day was cal-
led the *LORD'S DAY* by *St. John* in his *Revelation*;
and that in *Justin Martyr's* Time it was universally
observ'd in the Catholic Church; when, I say, we
find all these Things, we may certainly conclude that
the *LORD'S DAY* was appointed by the Apostles to
be a Day of Worship, and we do as certainly know
that they had the Spirit of God, who enabled them
so to bind, and so to loose, as to have their Declara-
tions ratify'd above. I own my self oblig'd to Dr.
Lightfoot for this Interpretation^c of the true Notion
of *Binding* and *Loosing*. It is a noble one, and per-
fectly agrees with the ways of speaking then in Use
among the *Jews*. It is observable, that these Phrases
of *Binding* and *Loosing* occur no where in the New
Testament but in *St. Matthew*, who is supposed to
have writ his Gospel first in *Hebrew*, from whence it was
translated into *Greek*, and then the Force and Use of
the Expression will the better appear. This will not
be thought a Digression to those that want to know
by what Commission the Apostles alter'd the *Jew-
ish* Sabbath into the Christian Lord's Day, and by
what explicit Power, an Affair of that Importance,
which will be sufficient to bind the Consciences of the
Christian Church in future Ages, was at first trans-
acted.

XII. That industrious, and truly useful Writer,
who has publish'd some *posthumous Remains* of Dr.
Lightfoot's seems to have been shock'd with this In-
terpretation, and therefore labours to excuse it^d. But
there

^c Hor. Hebraic. in Matt. xvi. 19.

^d " 'Tis true this learned Man was noted for certain peculiar
" Opinions, differing therein from such as were commonly receiv'd
" and believ'd; and thereupon was disliked by some. Nor will
" I deny it; but yet I must add, that they were such Notions as

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there was no need of an excuse. Dr. *Lightfoot* deserved great Thanks for that Discovery, which to a Reader that will go no farther than the Book before him, is put beyond Contradiction in Title *Eruvin* in very many Places, in many of which I have retained the literal Use of those Phrases in my Translation, that the *English* Reader might be satisfy'd how they were used by the *Masters of Tradition*, without trusting to any Bodies Eyes but his own.

The Apostles then *loosed* the *Jewish Sabbath*, after they entred upon their Ministry as long as the *second Temple* stood. This they did to bring in the *Jews*, and thus they *became all Things to all Men*. Now, since that Oeconomy is wholly dissolv'd, to us the *Jewish Sabbath* is wholly bound: But tho' the *Jewish Sabbath* was, generally speaking, *loosed* to those earliest Christians, yet the Synod of *Jerusalem* did not oblige the Christians of *Antioch* to observe it, nor did they forbid it, in the Synodical Letter which they sent them in *Acts* xv. and St. *Paul* forewarns the *Colossians* from adhering to that as well as the other *Jewish* Observances that were then abolish'd. The Reasons why there was so great Stress laid upon this Law in the Old Testament we have seen already:

“ were innocent, and did no harm; such as had no bad Influence
 “ upon Religion, nor tended in the least to the Breach of the
 “ Churches Peace, (which he ever held very sacred); nor lastly
 “ such as abated the necessity of a virtuous and good Life. And
 “ for Evidence hereof I will mention some, if not the chief of them.
 Strype's Preface relating to the Author. pag. 34.

And again, “ Fourthly, He did not allow that Binding and
 “ Loosing related to Discipline, but to Doctrine. And that be-
 “ cause the Phrases to bind and to loose were Jewish, and most
 “ frequent in their Writers, and that it belonged only to the Teach-
 “ ers among the Jews to bind, and to loose. And that when
 “ the Jews set any apart to be a Preacher, they used these Words,
 “ Take thou Liberty to teach what is Bound, and what is Loose.
 Ibid. pag. 36.

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But then those Reasons are so far from obliging us now, since *Jesus Christ* is come, and returned into Heaven, from whence he came, and since his Church is founded by Men who were actually led and directed by the Holy Ghost, that we are certainly now bound not to keep it. The *Decalogue* (as has been observ'd already) was a *Federal Body of Laws*, given by God to his chosen People, by the keeping of which they shewed themselves obliged in a most especial manner to be in Covenant with him, as he was with them. How far they oblige us will be plainly understood by what our Lord says himself in his Sermon upon the Mount, where the *Sabbath* is not once named, and by what he says in other Places, and his Apostles after him, in their Sermons preserv'd by St. *Luke* in the *Acts of the Apostles*, and in their Epistles. Whatsoever becomes of the fourth Commandment we are not in the least left in the dark, as to any of the other Nine, which are as obligatory to us, as ever they were to the *Jews*, though for very plainly different Reasons.

XIII. But I expect to be told, that this explication of the Phrases of *Binding* and *Loosing*, after Dr. *Lightfoot*, both contradicts what I had affirmed concerning them in public formerly, and likewise weakens the Assertion of those who maintain, that a Judicial Power of animadverting upon Offenders was lodged by *Jesus Christ* with his Apostles, and their Successors, the Bishops and Pastors of the Church, to be exercis'd upon Occasion in all future Ages. In my *Visitation Sermon* concerning *The Rights of the Clergy in the Christian Church*, speaking of the Power of the Church to censure Offenders, I said, "That
 " *Jesus Christ* had promised this Power before in
 " *Matth.* xviii. when he instructed them in the Me-
 " thod in which they were to proceed with Offen-
 " ders. After which he subjoins these Words, *What-*
 " *soever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Hea-*
ven;

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“*ven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be*
“*loosed in Heaven.* Words which can be rationally
“understood of nothing but the Exercise of Acts of
“*Authority and Jurisdiction.*” And in my *Vindi-*
cation of that Sermon against the *Author of the Rights*
of the Christian Church, I said, “*Mr. W. in his Ser-*
“*mon founded the Power of the Keys now vested in*
“*the Church upon John xx. 23. where that Power*
“*is given to the whole Apostolical College, which*
“*was promised before singly to St. Peter, Matth. xvi.*
“*19.*” Now I freely own that what I said then
ought to be retracted; and that the *Keys of the*
Kingdom of Heaven given to St. Peter, related to
quite another matter, namely, as I said just now,
to the opening of the Kingdom of Heaven by the
preaching of St. Peter’s Gospel first to the Jews at
the Great Pentecost, and first to the Gentiles at *Co-*
sarea in the House of *Cornelius*. Thus He who first
confest Jesus to be the Christ, the Son of the living God,
Matth. xvi. 16. was honour’d as a Reward of that
early Confession, with a Commission first to declare it
both to the Jewish and to the Gentile World. Still
this Power of punishing and restoring Offenders, call
it by what Name we please, stands as it did, being
founded upon the Promise given by our Lord to his
Disciples after his Resurrection, *John xx. 23. Whose-*
soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them, and
whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained. Those
Words are plain and clear, relating to Persons not to
Things. Whereas (as I said before) the two Texts in
St. Matthew, in which mention is made of *binding* and
loosing are wholly confined to Things without med-
dling with Persons. One plain Text in a matter of
this kind is as good as a Thousand. But were there
no particular Commission of this sort, yet the Autho-

^c Pag. 23. Edit. 4th.

^f *Vindicat. of Rights. pag. 149.*

^g “*Αὐτὸν ἀφῆτε τὰς ἀμαρτίας, ἀφῆτε*” *ὡς τοῖς* “*αὐτὸν ἀφῆτε,*
καὶ ἐκείναις.”

city of driving Offenders out of the Church, and receiving them again upon their Repentance, cannot justly be deny'd. The Apostles had a general Power given them to teach and govern the Church by *Jesus Christ*; who when he gave it, told them, *That all Power was given him in Heaven and in Earth, Matth. xxviii. 18.* They acted in this their Commission under the immediate Direction of the Holy Ghost. Every part of this Power that was not of a temporary Nature, they left to their Successors. The practice of the Apostles therefore is a sure Guide to the future Governours of the Church, who succeed those whom they invested in this Government^h.

XIV. It will be expected here that I should say something concerning a Christian's Duty, as it relates to the Observation of the LORD'S DAY. Now though we have very little concerning it in the New Testament, yet we may be sure that what the Churches which the Apostles founded practised, ought infallibly to determine us. For if we are obliged to reverence that Day because they set it apart for the Worship of God, then we are equally obliged to do as they did upon that Day, as far as we are let into the Knowledge of their Practice. They constantly attended on that Day upon the public Worship of God. Then they *broke Bread*. Then they made their Collections for the Saints. The *Jews* in our Saviour's Time set them a laudable Pattern in that particular, which they regularly observe to this very Day. Wherever they are, if there are enough in the Place to erect a Synagogue, they certainly do it if they can get leave, and they as certainly meet every *Sabbath Day* in that Synagogue, where *Moses* and the *Prophets* are read to them, and where they duly say

^h The curious Reader may, if he thinks it worth his while, consult the Vindication of the Rights of the Clergy in the Christian Church. pagg. 148—170.

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their Prayers. As much as that Nation loves Money, and as intent as they usually are upon getting it, when they are in Countries where they can carry on the Business of Trade and Commerce, which is their main Employment wherever they have Opportunity; yet they never fail to attend on what they believe to be the Worship of God in their *Synagogues* upon the *Sabbath Day*. Surely then a like Practice obliges us, as much as according to their Principles it can oblige them. They keep the *Sabbath* because they are firmly persuaded that it is the SIGN of the Covenant betwixt God and them, which Covenant they believe to be still in force. We observe the LORD'S DAY because the Apostles, who had the Power of *Binding* and *Loosing* given them by *Jesus Christ*, set that Day apart for the weekly Remembrance of the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, and of the Effusion of the Gifts of the Holy Ghost. Christians then, that do their worldly Business, that go on Journeys, and that often to choose on that Day that they may lose no Time, that stay at home upon that Day on Pretence of their private Devotions, of reading good Books, or any Thing of that Nature, where Necessity or Charity do not require their stay, are certainly guilty of a very grievous Sin. And they yet rather, who stay at home upon the Lord's Day, because they have a Disgust at their lawful Minister with whom they must then communicate, and choose to deprive themselves of the Blessing which our LORD has annex'd to the Ordinances of public Worship, of which Preaching is by no means the greatest, rather than be seen to shew a Regard to him whom the Church hath appointed to be their Pastor. Under this Head too, frivolous pretences of want of Health, (which never keep them at home, when Business or Pleasure are in their way) or of taking Physic purely because they will not spare another Day (for of the real want of Health there is no Controversy) which are too too often

often made use of as Excuses to hide their Laziness or Avarice, of which, in the Case before us, one can hardly tell which is the most inexcusable, will justly come in. Nor will this Obligation of attending upon the public Worship of God, on the *Lord's Day*, make this *Christian Sabbath* burthensome to any Man that believes and hopes to receive any Advantage from serving God in the Assemblies of the Saints.

That we are obliged in the least to keep a *Jewish Sabbath* upon the *Lord's Day*, or that we need pay any Regard to those Observances which the *Masters of Tradition* have laid down in these *Titles* does nowhere appear. We may be sure this would not have been omitted, if it had been necessary. And the great weight which the old Law laid upon Things of that kind, made such a Notice still more necessary. *St. Paul*, in particular, who was perfectly well versed in the *Oral* as well as the *Written Law*, knew what weight was laid on this Command, both in the Old Testament, and in the Traditions of the Elders; and there could not fail to have been Occasions in some or other of his Epistles, to write upon this subject. When he exhorts the *Hebrews* not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, as, he told them, the manner of some was¹; he had a very fair opportunity to have said something concerning this Matter if there had been a Necessity. And much more so, when he makes those patheticall Exhortations upon the practical Duties of Christianity, at the end of most of his Epistles to those Churches to which he writes. But since there is a profound Silence upon this Head in all his Writings, as well as in the rest of the Writings of the New Testament, any farther than that Believers met in the Apostle's Times upon that Day to pray to God, and to praise him, and to partake of the holy Eucharist, and to provide for

¹ *Heb. x. 25.*

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the Necessities of the Poor, the manner of spending the rest of the Day must be left to the Decisions and Customs of every Church, and to the Prudence of every private Christian, who will conscientiously avoid doing any Thing whereby he may give Offence. And surely those whose Business on the Week Days will not give them leave to spend much Time upon matters of a spiritual Nature, ought to make use of this Day to instruct themselves, and those under their Care, in those Things which are of the greatest and the most lasting Importance. *Worldly Business* is certainly incompatible with a *Religious Feast*. Such the *Sabbath* was of old, and such the *Lord's Day* is now. And concerning the *Abolition* of the one, and the *Substitution* of the other in its Place, and concerning the legal and sufficient Authority of those who COMMANDED that SUBSTITUTION, there can, I think, be no reasonable Doubt to any one that will compare what has been already produced out of the *Old and New Testaments* concerning both^k.

^k " But might not, will you say, the Christian as well have
 " observed the Jewish for his seventh Day, as the Day he doth?
 " I answer No, he might not: For in so doing he should seem not
 " to acknowledge his Redemption to be already performed, but still
 " expected. For the Deliverance of Israel out of Egypt by the
 " Ministry of Moses was intended for a Type and Pledge of the
 " spiritual Deliverance which was to come by Christ. Their Ca-
 " naan also to which they marched, being a Type of that heavenly
 " Inheritance which the Redeemed by Christ do look for. Since therefore
 " the Shadow is now made void by the coming of the Substance, the
 " Relation is changed, and God is no longer to be worshipped and
 " believed in as a God foreshewing and assuring by Types, but as
 " a God who hath performed the Substance of what he promised.
 " And this is that which St. Paul means Coloss. ii. 16, 17. when
 " he saith, Let no Man judge you [henceforth] in respect of a
 " Feast Day, New Moon, or Sabbath Days, which were a
 " SHADOW of good Things to come, but the Body is of Christ.
Mede Book I. Disc. xv. p. 57.

F I N I S.